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THE ROOTS OF 'MULTIETHNOLECTS': EFFECTS OF MIGRATION ON THE LEXICON AND SPEECH OF GERMAN-SPEAKING SCHOOL CHILDREN

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Abstract:

Traditionally, German identity was based on an ethnic and linguistic notion of membership. Today, over 20% of Germany's population are migrants or of migrant descent, including one-third of the population under the age of thirty. Most of them are multilingual. 'Multiethnolects' are distinctive speech practices attributed to adolescents in inner city settings, that are alternatively described as 'styles' or 'lects' central to Turkish-German youth (Auer 2003, Eksner 2006, Kern & Selting 2006), general 'youth languages' (Wiese 2009), new dialects (Wiese 2012) or remnants of L2 acquisition (Dittmar 2013). Each term implies different presuppositions about the nature and origin of the phenomenon. My dissertation unites experimental methods, variationist analysis and ethnography to establish a fuller picture of the emergence of multiethnolects and the factors behind them in Germany, in particular.

Sixty-six German-born fourth graders in two districts of Braunschweig with a recent migration history completed a questionnaire, and a free-sorting test of German motion verbs while a subset of thirty-eight students also took part in a video-retelling task. The data allowed for a quantification of potential multiethnolect features at the lexical and morphosyntactic level. The motion verb

lexicon was examined with help of cluster analysis and regression analysis over speakers' background data. This step revealed that there are differences in lexical scope and the perception of word meaning that are best predicted by participants' migration background, district and heritage language. At the same time, morphosyntactic features associated with the German multiethnolect are present at low rates, but are predicted by similar combinations of background factors. Overall, a complex picture emerges that becomes interpretable with the help of ethnography. Participant observation and interviews with family members, social workers and educators highlighted the role of speaker networks and in-group orientations within certain neighborhoods. The observations call into question many of the current labels and descriptions of multiethnolects. Most importantly, there seem to be speakers to whom these ways of speaking German are the first-acquired vernacular. A wholesome understanding of these children's linguistic situation along with well-planned pedagogic responses in school can pave the way for sustainable academic careers and successful processes of integration.

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PART I: PRELIMINARIES AND INTRODUCTION

0. PRELIMINARIES

0.1 Text Structure and Cross-referencing

This dissertation is organized in parts, chapters, sections, subsections, and sub-subsections. Parts are not included in the numbering, and chapter numbering continues without restarting from one part to the next. The numbering styles applied to the continuous subdivisions are as follows: chapters (0), sections (0.1), subsections (0.1.1), sub-subsections (0.1.1.1). Footnotes are presented on the same page as the marker, sometimes continuing on the next page.

0.2 Examples

Examples are listed with a number in brackets consisting of the chapter and example number, e.g. (0.1), (0.2), (0.3) etc. Examples are often presented in a contrastive manner with a standard rendition following the non-standard, 'multiethnolectal' example in the same presentation. Interlinear glosses largely follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules (Comrie et al. 2004). Glosses are provided at least for the non-standard example, and for the standard rendition wherever necessary. Crucial differences between the two are underlined. Standard German capitalization rules were not applied to non-standard examples; only names are capitalized. The standardized format of all examples is:

0.1) ***the*** ***nonstandard*** ***or*** ***multiethnolect*** ***example.***
the interlinear gloss of the example.

The <u>standard</u> rendition of the nonstandard or multiethnolect example.
(The interlinear gloss of the Standard rendition – where necessary.)
'Translation of the example in English'. (Reference)

For an extensive list of abbreviations, glossing conventions and special terminology, the reader should refer to the glossary in the back of this dissertation.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview and Goal

Migration and demographic shift have radically changed the face and voice of Europe over the past decades and they continue do so these days. With millions of migrants and refugees reaching the continent in 2014, 2015, and in coming years, the question of how to achieve and maintain integrated societies is as pressing as ever. Language is often seen as central in the process: it is the bearer of hope with regard to educational, economic and social integration. Learning the national majority language stands not only at the beginning of the integration process. Rather, language acquisition will accompany millions of migrants and their receiving societies for decades to come.

Although research on linguistic integration is not new to Europe, recent years have seen more difficulties with regard to understanding the issues at hand. Border mobility resulted in intricate patterns of ethnic and linguistic diversity in metropolitan areas that by far surpass the effects of post-colonial and work-related immigration in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. New 'superdiverse' urban neighborhoods often no longer consist of a concrete number of immigrant groups, but host a multitude of interlaced minorities with linguistic repertoires shaped by complex migration experiences (cf. Vertovec 2007, Bloemaert 2010, 2013).

So-called 'multiethnolects' are one phenomenon associated with these dynamic new language environments. The term was coined by Clyne in 2000 and has subsequently been

redefined by other authors. Broadly speaking, it pertains to the non-standard ways in which adolescent peer groups in immigrant areas employ European majority society languages. Recent years have seen an explosion in studies on 'multiethnolects' in various European countries, asking who the speakers are, how these ways of speaking relate to the majority languages, what features constitute them, and what status they have in the linguistic repertoire of their users. This dissertation presents a reevaluation of a number of these issues for the specific German context.

The following excerpts from *Neukölln Unlimited* (2010), a documentary about young members of a Lebanese refugee family living in Berlin, showcase features associated with the German 'multiethnolect:'

(1.1) ***warum*** ***sagst*** ***du*** ***zu*** ***ihn?***
why say.2s 2s to him.ACC
Warum sagst du das zu ihm?
'Why are you telling him (that)?' (*Neukölln Unlimited*, 34.55 min)

(1.2) ***wenn*** ***ich*** ***jetzt*** ***noch*** ***eine*** ***show*** ***mache,***
if 1s now another a.f show do.1s
bin ***isch*** ***halbfinale.***
am 1s semifinal
Wenn ich jetzt noch eine Show mache, bin ich im Halbfinale.
'If I do one more show now, I'm in the semifinals'
(*Neukölln Unlimited*, 34.43 min)

(1.3) ***auf*** ***wen*** ***zielst*** ***du?***
at who.ACC aim.2s you
Auf wen zielst du ab?
'Who are you aiming at?' (*Neukölln Unlimited*, 21.30 min)

(1.4) ***danach*** ***isch*** ***muss*** ***gehn***
there.after 1s have.to go
Danach muss ich gehn
'After that I have to go'. (*Neukölln Unlimited*, 7.29 min)

The examples highlight different types of features not found in Standard German: Phonologically, there is coronalization of the palatal fricatives in (1.2) and (1.4); morphologically, the accusative case replaces the dative and an object pronoun is omitted in (1.1), a preposition is missing in (1.2), and a verb is used without its prepositional split-affix in (1.3); and syntactically, the verb stands in third instead of second position in (1.4). These features are signaled as characteristic of the German multiethnolect in numerous linguistic studies (Füglein 2000, Auer 2003, Dirim & Auer 2004, Kern & Selting 2006, Keim 2007, Wiese 2009, Wiese 2012).[1] However, the features differ with regard to their salience. For example, (1.1) and (1.3) are rarely used to exemplify multiethnolect speech in public discourse, possibly because they also occur in dialects of German, or because there are standard renditions of the exact same form but with a different intended meaning.[2] Omissions, on the other hand, are a trademark of multiethnolect speech across media representations and comedy skits today (cf. Auer 2013, Androutsopoulos & Lauer 2013:84). They are also common currency among adolescents outside the immigrant context who stylize or 'urbanize' their German, to benefit from a certain type of prestige associated with multiethnic ways of speaking (Marrosek 2013).

[1] While it would be justified to apply precautionary scare quotes to the term 'multiethnolect' throughout this dissertation, I will only do so occasionally for reasons of readability.
[2] For instance, example (1.3) is not per se ungrammatical in Standard German.

The proliferation of features among speakers with and without a migrant background, inside and outside of areas with a migration history, complicates the description and analysis of multiethnolects. There is disagreement as to whether the phenomenon is best described as a set of stylistic occurrences, that is, deliberate choices of certain features that fulfill a social function (cf. Auer 2013, Nortier & Dorleijn 2013), or whether there is evidence of new varieties (dialects, vernaculars) developing in certain urban areas that include several levels of the language and are spoken without deliberate reflection or intention (cf. Quist 2008, Wiese 2012, Rampton 2011). In the past 10 years in Germany, researchers have claimed both that multiethnolects are instances of stylization employed in socially limited contexts (cf. Eksner 2006, Kern & Selting 2006), and that they are part of a variety that is supposedly independent from the speakers' origin (Wiese 2012: 14). Attempts have been made to reconcile these understandings of the multiethnolect (cf. Quist 2008, Androtsopolous 2010, Wiese 2012). Recently, however, the balance is clearly tipping towards an interpretation of multiethnolects in Europe as representing speech styles (cf. Auer 2013, Nortier & Dorleijn 2013).

A main point this dissertation conveys is that such an interpretation – multiethnolects as stylistic – is the inevitable outcome of the data chosen for interpretation. Regardless of their approaches, an overwhelming majority of studies treat multiethnolects as 'youth languages', and heavily rely on data elicited from adolescents. With the exception of research on Multiethnic London English (cf. Cheshire et al. 2011), the field does not consider children as a potential speaker group for analysis. One problem with this pre-

selective approach is that it circularly supports the claim of a youth language. A better understanding of the origins of multiethnolects requires broadening the lens. Using a German case study, the goal of this dissertation is to systematically examine the potential social and linguistic roots of multiethnolects based on morphosyntactic and lexical features in the language of children. A set of basic research questions guides my project:

i. What contraindications are there for multiethnolects to emerge by way of feature transmission from caregivers to children?
ii. If children exhibit multiethnolect characteristics in their language: which children are they? Who exactly speaks this way?
iii. What social and language-related predictors of mutliethnolect features are there, and in what way do they allow conclusions about the social and linguistic roots of multiethnolects?

Together, these questions aim at an explanation of the 'roots' of the multiethnolect phenomenon. Using data from fourth graders in two districts of Braunschweig, a mid-size German city, the answers to these questions are sought in three interrelated quantitative studies that are synthesized with an ethnographic study of the relevant environment. Before embarking on this extensive project, I provide the reader with a solid foundation of the social and linguistic background against which multiethnolects emerged. This preparation is necessary, because the most recent descriptions of multiethnolects are often ahistorical. The earliest documentations of potential language change in migrant neighborhoods were based solely on data from children in immigrant neighborhoods, and not on adolescent

speech (cf. Kotsinas 1988, Pfaff 1984), for instance. The next section will discuss why and how the focus shifted radically to adolescents in recent years.

1.2 Political Context and Tacit Assumptions

Readers with a background in other disciplines may find the guiding questions of this study surprisingly basic, and might wonder how a bottom-up quantitative approach could be lacking in a crucial and popular subfield of sociolinguistics in Germany. The answer lies in the history of the discipline, but also in the mutual influence of politics, public debates, and sociolinguistics itself. Auer (2013) summarizes the context of multiethnolect research in Germany as follows:

> Research on the consequences of immigration for urban adolescent ways of speaking are embedded in political debates concerned with the alleged existence of parallel societies in ghettoes of foreigners; at the same time (since 2001) [these debates] take place in the context of discussing the results of the Pisa-studies that documented the substandard educational success of adolescents from immigrant families. The political environment of the debate shows that the matter does not simply have to do with youth 'of migrant descent'. Nor is multilingualism *per se* the issue. The public debate usually ignores all adolescents of migrant descent that are well integrated into mainstream society. The issue relates to the margins of society, those adolescents that maybe sarcastically call themselves '*Kanaken*' [pejorative term denoting visible ethnic minorities in Germany – D.H.] live in a district that they possibly call 'the ghetto' or '*Kiez*' [Northern German term denoting an urban neighborhood – D.H.], feel as outsiders and 'foreigners' to a society dominated by 'Germans' (even if they hold German citizenship), and have problems in their academic and professional career, regardless of whether they make an effort in it or not. In other words, the matter is concerned with society's problem areas. (Auer 2013:10)[3]

[3] All quotes in this dissertation are translated by the author and stated in German in a footnote:
Die Forschung über die Folgen der Immigration für die urbanen jugendsprachlichen Sprechweisen sind (*sic!*) eingebettet in politische Diskussionen um angebliche Parallelgesellschaften in Ausländerghettos; zugleich finden sie (seit 2001) im Kontext der Diskussion der Ergebnisse der Pisa-Studien statt, die den unterdurchschnittlichen Bildungserfolg von jugendlichen aus Immigrantenfamilien dokumentiert haben. Schon dieses politische Umfeld zeigt, dass es nicht einfach um Jugendliche ‚mit Migrationshintergrund' geht. Ebensowenig ist Mehrsprachigkeit an sich das Problem. Die öffentliche Diskussion blendet in der Regel all diejenigen Jugendlichen mit Migrationshintergrund aus, die gut in den gesellschaftlichen *mainstream* eingebettet sind. Es geht ihr um die Ränder der Gesellschaft, um diejenigen Jugendlichen, die sich vielleicht

These problem areas of failed integration and marginalized youth provoke emotional responses in Germany that draw sociolinguistic research into public debates (cf. Androutsopoulos & Lauer 2013). The result is an inseparable relationship between sociolinguistics and public discourse.

The fairly recent publication of Wiese's (2012) *Kiezdeutsch: ein neuer Dialekt entsteht* (*Kiezdeutsch*: a new dialect is emerging) is exemplary of this connection: In the book, the author muses about the emergence of a new dialect of German as a consequence of linguistic developments in certain neighborhoods of Berlin. Wiese received tremendous media attention and a torrent of negative reactions ranging from printed opinion pieces (e.g. Glück 2012) to aggressive emails and outright threats (cf. Wiese 2014). Researchers also challenged Wiese's terminology use for its essentializing effects (e.g. Androutsopoulos & Lauer 2013) and due to the claim of 'dialecthood' for the German multiethnolect (e.g. Auer 2013). More important than understanding all the contentions in this specific discourse is to note how political undercurrents in the larger debate of integration in Germany reflect on the field of sociolinguistics; a case in point is the way data is typically chosen for research on multiethnolects.

The youth language bias mirrors the way public discourses represent immigrant youth in Europe. Above, Auer (2013) identifies social problem areas related to young speakers

selbst ironisch als ‚Kanaken' bezeichnen, die in einem Stadtviertel wohnen, das sie u. U. ‚Ghetto' oder ‚Kiez' nennen, die sich zu einem guten Teil außerhalb der von ‚den Deutschen'
beherrschten Gesellschaft und in diesem Sinne als ‚Ausländer' fühlen (selbst wenn sie einen deutschen Pass haben) und die sich mit ihrer schulischen und beruflichen Karriere schwer tun, ob sie sich nun bemühen oder nicht. Es geht also um gesellschaftliche Problemfelder.

as the driving force behind the interest in multiethnolects. Jaspers (2007) points out that adolescents often also embody the threat that migration-related social change represents for parts of the autochthonous population. As a result, multiethnolects are perceived as a vehicle of this threat, and carry a mainly negative connotation in mainstream society. Regardless of the actual roots of multiethnolects, their social meaningfulness increases during adolescence due to the public perception of adolescents – regardless of whether speakers have any intentions with the way they are speaking. The public eye may actually cause sociolinguists to narrow their focus on speech practices of this specific age group. At least it would explain why, in spite of the outpouring of publications on multiethnolects, most researchers on the European continent agree on the categorization as a youth language without seriously questioning the term. The notable exception to this pattern is research in Britain where Cheshire et al. (2011) deliberately include data from children, and Rampton's (2011) seminal paper on the possibility of vernacularization of urban heteroglossia deals with the perpetuation of the phenomena into adulthood. The present dissertation can be seen as a first step to extend these queries to mainland Europe, and to the German context in particular.

The youth language assumption also has two side effects. One effect is the understating of the possibility of feature transmission taking place between members of the first immigrant generation (G1) who acquired the majority language as a second language, and members of later generations (G1.5, G2, G3) who acquired it in a very different process. If feature transmission between parents, other caregivers (such as older siblings) and children

is the norm rather than an exception, speaking of 'new youth languages' seems somewhat counterintuitive. There may be political reasons for which presenting data that links parent learner varieties to the German of subsequent generations is avoided. A comprehensive representation of multiethnolect data, however, should not be guided by political sensitivities.

Another impression that present research involuntarily imparts is that immigrant families rarely use the European majority languages at home. As my literature review will show, this impression is so pervasive that it is rarely questioned. It directly feeds into the youth language hypothesis, by making it impossible to conceive of immigrant homes in which the majority language is the norm rather than the exception, and by delegating the acquisition of the majority language to a social realm outside the home – such as school, or the adolescent peer group.

As a result, multiethnolect research is dealing with three interrelated assumptions that are rarely challenged. For the German debate, they can be summarized as follows:

i. The assumption that there is close to no connection between the unguided learner varieties the speakers' parents acquired and the observed features in the speech of the second and third generation. In other words, there rarely is feature transmission from caregiver to child (cf. Dirim & Auer 2004, Kern & Selting 2006, Keim 2012, Wiese 2012).

ii. As a consequence, multiethnolect speech practices should be classified as youth languages: They are age-graded phenomena, and younger children are not the

target group of research. In brief, mainly adolescents speak this way (cf. Auer 2003, Eksner 2006, Kern & Selting 2006, Wiese 2009, Wiese 2012).

iii. This then results in the assumption that the speech practices in question are not first-acquired, in the sense of a first language (L1). There can be no native speakers of the multiethnolect 'youth language' (cf. Füglein 2000, Auer 2003, Eksner 2006, Kern & Selting 2006, Keim 2007, Wiese 2009, Wiese 2012, Dittmar 2013). Rather, multilingual speakers mainly speak their heritage language at home, or they speak another variety of German before the multiethnolect. There is no direct relationship between speakers' social or linguistic background and multiethnolect characteristics in their speech.

Throughout this dissertation these three views will be identified as the assumptions of (i) non-transmission, (ii) youth language and (iii) non-nativeness, respectively. Chapter 3, in particular, shows that solid arguments for these assumptions are rare. Many researchers work with them as if they have *a priori* status. To an extent, these three assumptions also mirror the three questions this dissertation seeks to answer. The next section clarifies the position from which I undertake my project, and explains how these presently unchallenged perspectives caught my attention.

1.3 Positionality of the Researcher

Anthropologists have long been aware of issues surrounding 'objectivity' in their work, and usually respond to the 'researcher's apprehension towards the field' (Lindner 1981:51), with a discussion of a researcher's 'positionality'. The goal is to make clear the vantage point of a project, so that observations can be separated from initial expectations and readers can assess for themselves how labeling practices or choices of variables might have been influenced by possible biases (cf. Johnstone 2000). Sociolinguists more and more follow this practice of openly reflecting on the position they set out from and the relationship they have with their field (e.g. Blommaert 2013).

Although the fieldwork for this dissertation was eventually carried out in West Germany, the incentive for the project came from experiences in social work with multiethnolect speakers between 2006 and 2010 in the immigrant neighborhoods of Neustadt-Neuschönefeld and Volkmarsdorf in the city of Leipzig, in former East Germany. About half of the inhabitants of this area close to Leipzig's center are of migrant descent. The immigrant population settled within the past twenty to thirty years, and arrived in several waves both from former West Germany and directly from abroad. Vietnamese guest workers had lived in the area before the fall of the wall, but due to the restrictive treatment of foreigners in the former GDR many only began having children after 1990. The other main groups in the area are of Ukrainian, Russian, Kurdish, Arabic, Turkish, and Kazakh descent. The association I co-founded (the City Scouts Association) applied a mix of pedagogic methods to get the very diverse population involved in integration projects

with the goal of personal, educational and professional development. Young people with and without migrant background took part in scouting activities, athletics and school tutoring. In my role as a coach and tutor, I was a regular guest of families with diverse backgrounds, and frequented the parks, streets and a mosque of the neighborhood. I also became a teaching assistant for a sports team at a local school.

With training as a documentary linguist completed in 2008, I was struck by the linguistic peculiarities in the German of children, adolescents and adults in the neighborhood. The grammatical features quoted above occurred frequently in conversations and were used by a variety of speakers: Migrants of diverse backgrounds, Germans and non-Germans, and all age groups. Over time, I also was introduced to networks of speakers that communicated across German cities using the same code. Social networks in Berlin and West Germany with similarly diverse backgrounds appeared to be using the same or very similar features. It was clear that this way of speaking also carried a social meaning for the speakers. But how had it developed?

As I commenced studies on the topic in 2010 and 2011, I found that the linguistic literature labeled the phenomenon in a variety of ways. At the same time, my experience was surprisingly often at odds with what was being written. A major discrepancy consisted in the fact that I worked with several generations who exhibited multiethnolect features: Children, youth and adults who were constantly interacting, both in German and in other languages, but with a way of speaking German that seemed clearly distinct from the spoken Standard German and dialects that I knew. Linguists described the phenomenon, however,

as if it were limited to the adolescent group in immigrant neighborhoods, and as if it were most likely a transitional phenomenon. In addition, the abounding use of German in immigrant families that I was experiencing on a day-to-day basis was not seen as the norm. There seemed to be a tacit assumption throughout the literature that immigrant languages dominate in immigrant families.

Not only my community experience called these views into question. There also were compelling reasons to reexamine them from the perspective of education: While descriptions of the multiethnolect as a mere 'stylistic phase' during puberty or adolescence diffuse interpretations of the phenomenon as a sign of 'failed integration' or of 'linguistic segregation', such a treatment of the matter potentially leads to misinterpretations. If the features in question are indeed not part of children's first-acquired way of speaking German, the language problems they are facing in school would be due to second language acquisition. As my interviews with teachers will show, some teachers indeed treat the phenomena as such, while teachers with a stronger connection to the neighborhood environment see that second language acquisition does not explain the phenomenon they are dealing with as German teachers.

As mentioned above, the idea that new dialects are under development in immigrant contexts is nothing new: Kotsinas (1988) and Pfaff (1987) discuss these options for Swedish and German early on in the history of the research. In another dissertation project at The University of Texas at Austin, Queen (1996) argued over eighteen years ago that what she was witnessing in a community in Hesse, Germany, was the emergence of an

ethnic variety – a variety of German that bilingual Turkish-German children acquire as their L1. With regard to school, she suggested that teachers were not dealing with second language learners, but rather with speakers of a non-standard *lect* of German. If 'non-standard input' leads to the foundational problems that certain students experience in written German with regard to vocabulary comprehension, use of prepositions, case congruence and gender assignment, then a different approach to teaching Standard German to these students is needed. Bringing about these changes is another motivation behind this dissertation.

Certainly, essentialist terminology such as calling the multiethnolect a 'native language' of certain speakers bears risks. Labels can lump students into categories that they do not belong to, and reality is more complex than the terms we use can reflect. In light of the complexity of the matter and the possible negative effects of labeling, some sociolinguists even suggest abandoning traditional terminology completely (cf. Blommaert & Rampton 2011). However, the general conditions in schools often only permit so much involvement with a highly complex matter: If a term such as 'dialect' is used, as in 'your student grew up speaking another dialect of German', and the term helps a teacher reevaluate his or her understanding of a student's problems, the term did its job. Any other understandable term could be applied, as long as it did the job of helping teachers work with students. In this dissertation, the educational aspect will only be marginally discussed in Chapters 8 and 9, but I see myself indebted to teachers as a group that is often being underrepresented in the discourse and misrepresented as unwilling to comprehend the

matters at hand (cf. Androutsoupolous & Lauer 2013:88). My experience is rather that teachers want information that is accessible but are getting answers that are not useful for producing pedagogic responses.

Although the experience and intuition gained through practical work in Leipzig led to this dissertation project, an important step forward was a deliberate step away from the community that I had known as a social worker. Even creating geographical distance from the German discourse on migration helped enormously. While sociolinguistic work depends on an ethnographic foundation, and most sociolinguists critically examine their practices, the relationship between the field and the field worker can sometimes become too intertwined and so hinder valid evaluation (cf. Johnstone 2000:87).

The data for this study was gathered in Braunschweig, a city that is similar in size and yet different enough from my work environment in Leipzig for a more distanced approach. Braunschweig also offered itself for logistic reasons: In order to establish a strong quantitative apparatus consisting of experimental and more conventional sociolinguistic methods, I needed access to schools. A colleague of mine in Austin and his mother, who worked as a schoolteacher in one of the districts at the heart of this dissertation, provided me with access to the community. The next section summarizes the structure of this dissertation.

1.4 Structure of the Study

From its earliest moments sociolinguistics began as a discipline with two subfields: A quantitatively oriented strand surrounding the 'variationist approach' developed by William Labov (1966, 1972, 2001), and a strand with a qualitative orientation fostered by the work of John Gumperz and Dell Hymes (1972). Most work on multiethnolects in Europe today falls under the latter category: it is mainly ethnographic in nature, uses discourse analysis as an analytical tool or analyzes multiethnolect features through select examples taken from snippets of conversation. Auer (2013:11) identifies a lack of quantitative studies in the German context in particular, and tries to mitigate the situation by providing some preliminary quantitative data from Stuttgart. (However, yet again, the data stems exclusively from adolescents.)

Because quantitative data from the field are currently so rare, this dissertation mainly makes a contribution in this direction. However, as Labov himself was aware and as his students emphasized even more: Numbers support interpretations and observations, but are not self-explanatory. Quantitative approaches in sociolinguistics depend on sound ethnography, and this dissertation likewise provides a qualitative contextualization of its quantitative findings.

The best way of bringing about evidence in sociolinguistic work – regardless of whether the project would be associated with the quantitative or qualitative strands of the discipline – is triangulation (cf. Johnstone 2000:61) or, in other words, engaging a 'diversity of methods' (Kirk and Miller 1986:30). The present project employs a range of

methods to investigate the roots of multiethnolects in two German neighborhoods, and approaches the problem from a macro- and a micro-perspective, in two major parts.

Under the label 'Research Background', Part II of this dissertation will take a bird's eye view on the context that contributed to the emergence of the multiethnolect, and on the academic field's current perception of the phenomenon. Chapter 2, 'A History of Immigration to Germany', gives a historic overview of the political and social conditions under which migration to Germany after WWII evolved. This is the background against which the discipline of German sociolinguistics produced its work, and the backdrop against which the multiethnolect emerged. Basic sociological terms will also be introduced, and the narrative of German immigration condensed to the essential events and concepts.

Chapter 3, 'A Comparison of Multiethnolect Studies', discusses the concept of multiethnolects in Europe in greater detail and then focuses on specific studies conducted in Germany since the millennial turn. The chapter uses a survey format in order to better organize the abundance of terminologies, social factors and morphosyntactic features that researchers have suggested and reported for the phenomenon. The chapter ends with a critical discussion of the three assumptions introduced above which permeate the field of multiethnolect research.

Chapter 4, 'Bridging a Gap', goes back in time, bridging a curious research gap between multiethnolect research and the sociolinguistic literature produced earlier, between 1970 and 1990, when the linguistic phenomena connected to guest worker migration was central to sociolinguistic scholarship under the notorious term

Gastarbeiterdeutsch (guest worker German). Using the same survey format as the previous chapter allows for a comparison of the two subfields of German sociolinguistics. A result of this comparison will be that many of the tacit assumptions in current research on multiethnolects begin to falter.

Part III of this dissertation, 'Multiethnolect Features in Two Districts', takes the reader to the micro-level and contains the four studies at the center of the project. The first study in Chapter 5, 'Quantifying the Linguistic Landscape', introduces my participants' living environments, namely the Nordstadt and Weststadt of Braunschweig. It describes the sample of participants and quantifies their linguistic environment, before giving examples of multiethnolect features in the language of some speakers. The study quite clearly shows that German is an established home language in immigrant families.

Chapter 6, 'The Lexicon of Multiethnolect Speakers', establishes the importance of looking beyond morphosyntactic features in the analysis of multiethnolects. It unearths the connection between speaker backgrounds (represented by factors extracted from Chapter 5) and the scope and structure of the specific semantic field of motion verbs. The factors that best explain lexical scope and certain non-standard associations between words are the birthplace of parents, the district and a specific heritage language. After obtaining these results, speakers themselves helped me interpret them by giving me feedback.

Under the title 'Evaluating Multiethnolect Morphosyntax', Chapter 7 works with morphosyntactic features extracted from a video-retelling task recorded from a subsample of 38 children. The chapter establishes a relationship between feature frequency and

speaker backgrounds, and also relates the morphosyntactic findings to the results on speakers' lexicon from the previous chapter. It proceeds to suggest a preliminary model of multiethnolect origins based on the quantitative results of Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

Quantitative work alone is insufficient, however, to provide the answers this dissertation is seeking. The 'Ethnographic Contextualization' in Chapter 8 brings together the results from previous chapters with qualitative data: interviews from the local community, a consideration of community histories, and observations on the social networks, in which speakers are embedded. Overall, the data do not speak to a reality in which multiethnolects are merely ephemeral phenomena. Rather, there are observable parallels with historically grown, socio-culturally and religiously habituated in-group orientations of larger minorities. The chapter ends with a discussion of the implications this dissertation has for educational practices and policies.

Chapter 9 concludes this dissertation with a summary of the chapters, the anwers this dissertation provides, as well as an outlook on future research.

PART II: RESEARCH BACKGROUND

2. A HISTORY OF IMMIGRATION TO GERMANY

2.1 Introduction

Germany can be presented as a country of extreme historical, cultural, structural, organizational, religious, ideological, and idiomatic differences – a multicultural nation *par excellence*. However, this inherently diverse Germany only exists in the eyes of the outside observer. The many regional entities that constitute Germany often represent a close-knit, firmly joined framework of socialization that allows for few alternatives. Traditions and networks evolved historically and are supported by strong regional identities. Discussions of German diversity are therefore not primarily concerned with local diversification, but of a diversity of local identities. The backdrop against which migration and demographic change are discussed is often of a different kind: here, local identities merge into a contrastive 'Germanness' that serves to generalize over a set of problems that occur locally, but are perceived and discussed, nationally. The use of 'German' or 'Germans' in this chapter should be understood in this contrastive and generalized way: the terms subsume the autochthonous German ethnicities, cultures and varieties in their experience with immigrants, cultures and languages originally rooted outside the borders of today's Germany.

Varying socioeconomic and geopolitical conditions triggered immigration to Western Europe after World War II. A unifying characteristic of post-war immigration waves to

Germany lies in the response they received: The idea that immigration was actually taking place met with denial for over 50 years, leaving the country largely unprepared for the consequences that come with new national minorities and new local majorities. Germany's longstanding unwillingness to be what it actually became is reflected in the fact that the word *Einwanderungsland* – a description of German state society as a goal of permanent relocation – was a political taboo word, hardly ever used in official discourse at the national and local level (cf. Herbert 2001). In reality, as this chapter will show, Germany met the characteristics of an immigration society in the early seventies: immigrant neighborhoods were forming, and the first generation of German-born immigrant descendants entered the German school system.

How immigrant families adjust is always a question connected to factors on both the immigrating and the receiving side: What are the push- and pull-factors that trigger immigration in the first place? What educational backgrounds do people have? What are labor regulations and labor needs? Where will people be able to live? What are people's personal intentions and aspirations? How do local community values go together with immigrants' cultural attitudes? How reserved is the endemic population towards immigration? Is intermarriage possible? All these abstract and concrete questions figure into the outcome of the immigration process, and explain the social and linguistic development of an immigrant community in a host society. This chapter intends to answer some of these questions for the German context, in order to facilitate our understanding of the linguistic implications.

A more elaborate overview of the history of immigration politics in post-war Germany is part VI of Ulrich Herbert's monograph on *Geschichte der Ausländerpolitik in Deutschland* ('History of immigration politics in Germany') (2001:202-345).[4] It will be the main source of the first half of this overview. Barbieri's *Ethics of Citizenship* (1998) will serve me in discussing the overriding ethnic and societal membership notions in Germany, along with other concepts that illuminate why integration of immigrants and their descendants remains a major problem in Germany up to today.

2.2 Stages of Migration

2.2.1 1955 – 1973: FROM FOREIGN WORKERS TO 'GUEST WORKERS'

In order to understand the political origin of the term 'guest worker', it is worth recalling that post-war diversification in Germany did not begin with foreign worker contracts. Between 1945 and 1950 Germany lost its former eastern regions to Poland and the Soviet Union due to the decisions reached at the Potsdam Conference. As a consequence, Germans fled or were expelled from these regions, and by 1960, German refugees and expellees from the eastern regions and the Soviet zone of occupation made up roughly one quarter of the West German population. Because the end of forced labor under Nazi rule created a labor shortage, German refugees were able to find jobs fairly easily (Herbert 2001:195f.).

[4] An earlier version of Herbert's work was translated into English under the title *A history of foreign labor in Germany, 1880-1980: seasonal workers, forced laborers, guest workers* (Herbert 1990). However, it only discusses a brief period of 30 years of post-war immigration.

However, refugee families met more resistance than is commonly known, and the tolerance of many local communities receiving the refugees was also put to the test. Because necessities outweighed concerns, the process of integration can be called successful. Further factors facilitated a smooth transition: religiously speaking, state recognition of the two churches put new Protestant and Catholic diaspora communities at eye-level with the local religious majorities. The diverse socio-economic backgrounds in the German refugee population, the common language and the common ethnicity also made adaptation easier.

The stream of refugees from the east slowly dwindled and came to a full halt with the construction of the Berlin Wall in 1961. At the time, the first foreign workers from Italy had already been contracted due to the increased labor needs of the surprisingly vigorous post-war economy in Germany. Officially, the term 'guest worker' was not applied to these Italians nor to other contracted workers that entered the country soon thereafter from Greece, Spain, Turkey, Portugal and Yugoslavia (Knortz 2008:20). After foreign workers arrived in Germany, they formed a recognizable socio-economic class at the lower end: 90% worked low-level industrial jobs; they were untrained workers with rural backgrounds and received lower pay, while filling unpopular vacancies. This proved beneficial for Germans during the *Wirtschaftswunder* (economic miracle) in the 1960s: 2.3 million German workers moved into higher staff positions as lower positions were filled with foreigners (Herbert 2001:213). Worker unions in Germany were critically aware of the fact that foreign workers did not enjoy equal rights and social benefits, and that their presence

would become a way to keep wages low (Herbert 2001:203). Economic growth, however, silenced these concerns. Rather, the practice of signed-labor contracts expanded.

During the first recession in 1967, when it became evident that foreign labor would not be endlessly needed, the term 'guest worker' suddenly appeared and became the expression of a national expectation: foreign workers ought to leave once their job was done. The term entered collective consciousness with negative associations. An article from the *Handelsblatt* in February 1967 illustrates this by describing impressions from a police raid in a housing block of foreign workers:

> Six Turkish and Greek guest workers are dwelling in a room of not more than 15 square meters. The beds are stacked and moved together closely; all the men are already lying down, although it is only half past eight. But what else should they do in this hole? […] One struggles to find words to describe the restroom. A single dirty pool covers the floor, the only facitilies being a latrine of limestone without a seat or lid […] A few streets down lies the second target of the raid, a shack. […] Here, one hundred Southern Europeans lead their sad existence. Each of them pays 80 DM every month to their German landlord. Whoever sees this man has no doubt that the 8000,-DM go to his account punctually month by month. ('Fremd- statt Gastarbeiter?' *Handelsblatt*, 2-16-1967, cited in Herbert 2001:215)[5]

Escaping these substandard living conditions and striving for normalization in their lives, foreign workers made arrangements for longer durations of stay: They moved into affordable housing areas, managed to establish a cultural infrastructure and reunited with their families whom they often had left behind. They opened shops, mosques and cultural institutions, and posted signs in their respective languages. By 1972, 2.2 million foreign

[5] In einem Raum von nicht mehr als 15 Quadratmetern hausen sechs türkische und griechische Gastarbeiter. Übereinander und eng zusammengerückt stehen die Betten; alle Männer liegen schon, obwohl es gerade erst halb neun ist. Aber was sollen sie in diesem Loch anders anfangen? […] Man sucht nach Worten, um den Toilettenraum zu beschreiben. Auf dem Boden schwimmt eine einzige dreckige Lache, das Inventar besteht aus einer kalksteinernen Latrine ohne Besatz. […] Ein paar Straßen weiter befindet sich das zweite Ziel der Razzia, eine Baracke. […] Hundert Südländer führen hier ihr trauriges Dasein. 80 DM monatlich zahlt jeder von ihnen dem Vermieter, einem Deutschen. Wer diesen Mann sieht, zweifelt nicht daran, daß die 8000,-DM Monat für Monat pünktlich in seine Kasse wandern.

workers had been contracted. Among them, Turks formed the largest national group. Public awareness of these developments grew, and so did the anxiety within the new German government, a coalition of social democrats and liberal democrats; in 1973, in light of the oil crisis and the prospect of mass unemployment among foreign workers, it issued a complete ban on foreign recruitment (Herbert 2001:224).

2.2.2 1974-1984: THE STRUGGLES OF GENERATION 1.5

Contrary to the political hopes for a decline in the foreign population, the percentage of foreigners in Germany rose from 6.4 % in 1973 to 7.5 % by 1981. For demographers this was a foreseeable development because 17.3% of all newborn children in Germany were of non-German descent in 1974 (Herbert 2001:232). One third of all non-Germans in the country were under 20 years old. As the wave of 'guest workers' slowly subsided, attention shifted to the children of guest workers who were facing problems in school and would soon enter a job market that could not absorb them. The government tried to answer with a double strategy. On the one hand, it emphasized, yet again, that Germany was not a country of immigration; cultural ties to the homeland should be kept, so that later return would be facilitated. On the other hand, the government would increase efforts to 'integrate' immigrant children and youth. The term 'integration', however, was not defined.

In sociology, foreign-born but native-raised immigrant children of the first generation are often subsumed under the term 'generation 1.5' (G1.5). Rumbaut & Ima (1988) introduced the term in a study of the social adaptation of young refugees from South-East

Asia growing up in California, to describe the intermediate status of this generation in contrast to their parents and their native-born siblings. Generation 1.5ers often deal with the contradictory expectations of their parents and the majority culture. In the German context this was amplified by the contradiction between political rhetoric and local school policies: generation 1.5 was often organized in so-called *Ausländerregelklassen* (regular classes for foreigners), which were focused on facilitating a prospective return. But students remained socially isolated and in many cities they failed to reach any type of qualification. By 1980, only one out of four foreigners between 15-24 years of age had a school degree. With regard to sustenance, child support was raised, while at the same time all youth that entered Germany after 1974 were forbidden to work. Unsurprisingly, these contradictory policies led to further failure and surging crime rates in generation 1.5 (Herbert 2001:239–244).[6]

The German public observed these developments with increasing discomfort, especially since a new German-born generation of immigrant descendants was on the horizon. By 1980, apprehension and hostility among Germans rose to the extent that 80% of Germans expressed the view in opinion polls that foreigners should return to their home countries (Herbert 2001:241). This correlated with the increasing impression that the economy was not in good shape. A new government of Christian Democrats and liberals responded promptly: restrictive measures would be the main policy of the next 10 years. Financial incentives were introduced: returning 'guest workers' were offered 10500 DM

[6] Herbert uses the term 'second generation' here.

and an additional 1500 DM for each child that left the country with them. The Minister of Labor calculated high savings in social spending to justify the policy. However, as the program did not live up to these financial promises, the government suspended it. The old slogan became the new one: 'Integration and limitation'. A new *Ausländergesetz* (Alien Act) was supposed to underline the principle of restriction. A draft of the law clearly stated that 'we are not a country of immigration' [7] (Herbert 2001:257).

Another factor working against any formal recognition of immigration was religion. The state-church relationship formulated in Germany's *Staatskirchengesetz* helped integrate Catholic or Protestant minorities after the war and later. But nothing comparable existed for the newly emerging Muslim minority and most other religious groups (with the exception of Jewish communities). Public discourse increasingly began to describe and define Islam as a political force. The Iranian Revolution and commentaries by 'Islam experts' such as Scholl-Latour further fuelled this impression:

> It is not a coincidence that Koran classes for Turkish children have moved into modest but lovingly tended mosques that – eluding any state control – are getting caught up in the maelstrom of militant, Islamic brotherhoods, these <tarikat>, that are strictly forbidden in Kemalist Turkey. ('Unsere Türken oder Nagelprobe der Toleranz', *Stern* 10-6-1983, Scholl-Latour cited in Herbert 2001:260)[8]

At this stage 'guest workers' and their families involuntarily received a new role: not only were they perceived as a social problem, but as a possible subversive force on German territory. At the same time, there were no offers to the Islamic or other minorities to receive

[7] Wir sind kein Einwanderungsland.

[8] Es ist kein Zufall, daß der Koranunterricht für türkische Kinder sich in jene bescheidenen, aber liebevoll gepflegten Moscheen verlagert, die – jeder staatlichen Beaufsichtigung entzogen – in den Sog der militanten islamischen Bruderschaften geraten, jener <Tarikat>, die in der kemalistischen Türkei streng verboten sind.

state recognition.[9] Nobody intended to make arrangements that could be interpreted as an invitation to stay.

2.2.3 1984-1993: THE REFUGEE DEBATE AND HATE CRIMES

In 1985, it seemed that the old return policy of the new government was beginning to take effect: 4.64 million foreigners that had been counted in 1983 and 4.24 million lived in Germany in 1985. With this trend in mind, public attention to the 'guest worker problem' somewhat faded. However, these numbers were connected to the lack of economic growth at the time. In 1984, the nature of immigration simply changed. Between then and 1990 the number of asylum seekers increased fivefold. With this new wave of refugees becoming obvious, the democratic-liberal coalition accelerated the process to pass a new *Ausländergesetz* (Alien Act) in 1990. Surprisingly, it contained several improvements for foreigners: families had the right to reunite in Germany. Children born in Germany (members of the second generation, G2) could now attain German citizenship more easily, and foreign spouses of generation 1.5ers could enter the country under simplified conditions. Refugees who had been in Germany for over eight years received the right of permanent stay, and new refugees would be allowed to work under certain conditions. However, the law avoided mention of immigration, in spite of the obvious: With the fall of

[9] While the idea of 'state control' over religion may seem objectionable from the American perspective, recognition of religious communities by the state traditionally has advantages in Europe. For example, Austria, Germany's neighbor, recognized its Muslim minority in 1912 due to a long-standing experience with the Bosnian minority. Austrian Muslims train their own imams at public universities and there are regular religion classes in school, for instance. State recognition, hence has similar effects as the accreditation of religious seminaries in the U.S., for instance.

the Berlin Wall the incoming numbers of refugees picked up speed, and rose from 193,063 in 1990 to 438,191 in 1992. Most refugees now came from Eastern Europe (Herbert 2001:263) and from the Balkan region due to the erupting war in former Yugoslavia. But many refugees also came from farther regions.

The housing conditions in refugee camps and shelters were often worse than those of the former 'guest workers'. A personal memory from 1997 might serve as an anecdotal example. My father, a doctor, had volunteered in his church to take care of a number of Christian Orthodox Ethiopian refugees. I assisted him on several visits that left some long-lasting impressions. I remember a room of about 15 square meters in which ten men lived. Their privacy was confined to their bunk beds. Throughout the building there was a revolting smell. In addition to room and board, the refugees had 80 German marks (~ 50 U.S. dollars) to live on per month. They were not permitted to leave our hometown, were not allowed to work and had no contact with Germans on a regular basis. Similar conditions existed in camps across the country (Herbert 2001:266).

In addition to these developments, 1.5 million *Russlanddeutsche* (Germans from the former Soviet regions) arrived in Germany between 1990 and 1994. They were considered German by law, and received citizenship, although they often could not speak the language. Under these conditions, ultra-right political movements promising a full halt on immigration gained popularity in many regions. In reaction, the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) reestablished its image as a pro-limitation party and called for a change of the constitutional right of asylum during the election campaign of 1990.

Due to the CDU-campaign, heated debates on immigration policy ruled the front pages of the mainstream press, and venting against foreigners became a legitimate form of expression. The right-wing slogan '*Deutschland den Deutschen!'* (Germany to the Germans!) advanced from the margins of society to main street. After the CDU was reelected with Kohl becoming the first chancellor of a united Germany, the climate of aggression spun out of control: hundreds of young East Germans welcomed their Polish neighbors with stones when the German-Polish border was opened. In September 1991, several hundred protesters attacked a refugee shelter in Hoyerswerda, East Germany. After several days of Molotov cocktail bombings, the police evacuated the shelter and retreated under the applause of spectators. Within 14 days, foreigners were attacked in at least twenty other German cities. Altogether the years 1992 and 1993 counted 13,057 officially registered hate crimes. In Mölln a mother and her two children burned to death in their sleep during an attack. In a state of shock, and amidst a climate of unexpected aggression Germany's social democrats felt urged to find common ground with the Christian Democratic Union and the liberal party. In December 1992 paragraph 1 of the constitution which simply stated that the 'politically persecuted enjoy a right of asylum'[10] was revised. Refugees crossing borders from neighboring countries and third countries that kept certain humanitarian standards could now be refused entry.[11] Only three days after the constitution

[10] '(1) Politisch Verfolgte genießen Asylrecht'. Art. 16a *Grundgesetz für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, http://www.gesetze-im-internet.de/gg/BJNR000010949.html (last retrieved Sept. 26th 2015)

[11] '(2) Auf Absatz 1 kann sich nicht berufen, wer aus einem Mitgliedstaat der Europäischen Gemeinschaften oder aus einem anderen Drittstaat einreist, in dem die Anwendung des Abkommens über die Rechtsstellung der Flüchtlinge und der Konvention zum Schutze der Menschenrechte und Grundfreiheiten sichergestellt ist'. ('(2) Paragraph 1 cannot be invoked by anyone who crosses borders from a member state of the European

was changed, another three children and two women died in a firebomb attack in Solingen. Further attacks followed. By the end of 1993, 49 foreigners of different nationalities had lost their lives (Herbert 2001: 317, ff.).

In summary, while Kohl's government had improved conditions for foreigners in 1990, the uncontrolled anti-asylum campaign had painful consequences for the relationship between immigrated minorities and Germans. While a sharp decline in asylum requests after 1992 calmed the outright aggression, only the stream of refugees had factually decreased. Resettlement from Russia continued, 'guest worker' family members and spouses still followed from Turkey, and foreigners from the European Union were free to live and work in Germany as they wished. About 600,000 children were born on German soil from foreign parents between 1994 and 1998 (Kröhnert 2006:79): by 1994, they and their parents made up 8.6 % of the German population.

Current studies of so-called multiethnolects or other linguistic developments in immigrant neighborhoods seldom mention the scathing records of German integration policy throughout the 1990s. Yet, the adolescents these studies deal with often have parents who grew up during this period of increased aggression towards foreigners. That the well-documented mutual animosity between German majority society and immigrant communities would possibly leave traces on social orientation and linguistic developments would not seem surprising. That these sentiments have not completely subsided in present-

Community or another third country, in which the application of the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees und the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms Art is guaranteed'.) Art. 16a *Grundgesetz für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, http://www.gesetze-im-internet.de/gg/BJNR000010949.html (last retrieved Sept. 26th 2015)

day Germany is reflected by the current rise in violent attacks on refugee homes in face of the refugee crisis of 2015. While the overall circumstances of the current refugee crisis are different from past experiences, there still is a strong portion of the German public that actively resists change.

The next section takes a closer look at the experiences and attitudes that shape the identities of the German-born sons and daughters of immigrant families.

2.3 Reinventing German Identity

Throughout this dissertation I classify members of the immigrant community who were born in Germany of immigrant parents as part of the 'second generation' (G2). Children with a second-generation parent would then be the 'third generation' (G3), and so forth. However, the transition between G1, G1.5, G2, and G3 is not as abrupt as the labels suggest. Marriages within the communities often reach across generations and the categories merely are a simplification for purposes of discussion. In many ways, the immigrant experience is collective: even though younger members are in a substantially different position than their parents or older siblings, they are able to recast their families' experience, because it often was part of their upbringing.[12]

At the same time, German society demands a certain degree of identification and loyalty from young community members. As a result, identity conflict was and is a

[12] Narratives from Braunschweig, the focus area of my research, will confirm this in Chapter 8.

phenomenon these adolescents often deal with, and express in artwork and music. In a 1993 song titled *Fremd im eigenen Land* ('Foreign in my own country') the multi-ethnic, German-born rap ensemble of *Advanced Chemistry* verbalized questions about their German identity in the context of the early nineties:

> On the TV, in the news: Reunification! At first I was happy, then I quickly regretted it. Never since I can remember has it been this bad. The problem is the ideas in the system: A real German must look truly German. (Advanced Chemistry 1993, *Fremd im eigenen Land*)[13]

The song refers to experiences of the 1990s but also expresses questions that remain relevant: What makes becoming and being 'German' so difficult? Why should German-born members of immigrant families not keep their ethnic and linguistic identity in spite of attaining German citizenship? In order to explain the complexity behind these questions in the German context, I will elaborate on three points: first, the relationship between citizenship and ethnicity in Germany, which is strongly connected to the German language; second, the development of the German vision of multiculturalism and integration, which is distinct from the understanding of the terms in the United States; third, the debate and outrage over linguistic developments.

2.3.1 CITIZENSHIP

Being a form of membership, citizenship includes and excludes people from a specific group. Barbieri (1998) approaches the question of German citizenship through a larger

[13] Im Fernsehn, in der Zeitung, die Wiedervereinigung! Anfangs hab ich mich gefreut, doch schnell hab ich's bereut! Denn nie seit ich denken kann war's so schlimm wie heut. Das Problem sind die Ideen im System: Ein echter Deutscher muss so richtig deutsch aussehn!

discussion of the history of 'German membership'. He claims that throughout history German membership can be 'best understood for political purposes in terms of three overlapping but distinguishable communities: the German ethnic group or *Kulturnation*, the German state society […], and the German citizenry' (Barbieri 1998:9). The first community is defined by a common linguistic background (i.e. the German dialects and the development of Standard German), a shared cultural and historical heritage along with the ethnic 'stock' that is not only recognized and reified from the inside, but defined from the outside (by non-members) throughout history. The second community is defined by territory and structure, because everyone on German state territory or in German state society is participating to some degree in the economic, social, and political life. This membership notion includes minorities. The third membership group consists of the citizens. For historic reasons, these can be members of the German ethnic group and members of state society. Barbieri (1998:9) therefore describes this category as 'an unhappy compromise between the other two groups'.

The example of minorities in Central Europe shows why citizenship becomes problematic when state formation heavily draws on notions of an ethnically and linguistically defined membership. Many efforts of nationalization took their inspiration in the *Völkerschlacht* of 1813 after which they regained self-control after Napoleonic rule. Within the subsequent process of nation building, minorities faced more repressive policies on cultural and religious expression and language use. On the Danish side of the German-Danish border, for instance, authorities decided in 1851 that Danish should be introduced

as a language in school and religious life – in spite of the preferences of a German majority (cf. Teebken 2008:151f.). In their own territory, Germans did quite the same: The attempt to incorporate the Wendish brand of Lutheranism into a German-speaking Prussian State Church resulted in the migration of hundreds of Sorbian families to Texas in 1854 (cf. Blasig 1957), as well as to Australia.

Becoming part of the newly emerging nation states implied receiving the obligations and rights of a citizen. After the German state was founded in 1871, German citizenship was passed on by bloodline in a legal process termed *ius sanguinis*, since being German was defined by German ancestry. Members of incorporated minorities also received citizenship automatically, based on a compromise between the ethnic membership notion and the practicality of building a Germans state society. This compromise ended when National Socialists came to power and actively sought a conflation of the three membership notions. Unifying ethnicity, citizenry and the vision of a greater German state society meant that ethnic minorities had to be eliminated or diluted, and existing differences had to be wiped out or controlled. Ethnic minorities such as the Jews and Romani were persecuted and eliminated; larger geographical ethnic minorities such as the Wends were officially called German, and their language was sanctioned.

In spite of its implications, *ius sanguinis* remained the defining factor of citizenship in Germany after the war. As a consequence, citizenship remained tied to the linguistic and ethnic membership notions that shaped the German *Volk* notion. Foreigners were able to be members of German state society, but due to *ius sanguinis* they remained excluded from

most privileges and controls of citizenship. The Alien Act of 1990 made it possible to gain German citizenship after a certain period, but Kohl's government emphasized that 'by principle [they were] not willing to accept multiple citizenships' (Herbert 2001:324). Most immigrant families were aware of the tie between ethnicity and citizenship due to similar definitions of citizenship within their own countries of origin. The tie between being ethnically Turkish and having Turkish citizenship was a strong factor in citizenship decisions until very recently in 2014, when dual citizenship became an option. On the other hand, the same notion led to the rapid acquisition of full citizenship rights among German resettlers from the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The accommodating treatment that these families received after they barely set foot on German soil, often hardly spoke the language and were socio-economically in less promising situations than many established foreign workers and their families, led to substantial discontent among immigrants who had spent most of their lives in Germany but remained without the basic rights of citizenship.

After the German government changed in 1998, social democrats and green party expanded citizenship laws by elements of *ius soli*, the right of citizenship by birth on territory. In practice, this means that children born in Germany whose parents have the right of residence, held limited right of residence in Germany for three years, or simply lived in Germany for over eight years, can now receive German citizenship, while keeping citizenship of the parents (Herbert 2001:333). By the year 2000, German-born children of immigrant families were born with German citizenship.

One of the consequences of this move was, however, that the second and third generations in immigrant families vanished from the statistics as an identifiable group. In a state that defined citizenship by ethnicity, managing multiple ethnicities under one umbrella had previously seemed unnecessary. As Kröhnert (2006:76) mentions, this presents a difficulty for democratic planning, because it is less and less known who actually lives in Germany. The term *Jugendliche mit Migrationshintergrund* (youth with a migration background), created in order to track educational success and other matters of importance in a state with substantial minorities, often operates under different definitions of *Migrationshintergrund*, hence producing statistics that are rarely useful with regard to policy planning. Census data from 2011 were released in 2013 with the shocking result that 1.5 million inhabitants (over 1% of the population) was actually no longer living in the country. Most of these missing residents had a *Migrationshintergrund*.[14] The current refugee crisis with its initial lack of a registry system is exacerbating these effects.

As citizenship laws are slowly disconnecting from the ethno-cultural notions in German society, the country also feels repercussions from the policies of old. The fears connected to immigration are resurfacing dramatically in recent protests in East Germany, for instance. Demographic developments likely contribute to these anxieties: Germany's overall population is predicted to decline by about 8 million inhabitants over the next forty years due to reproduction rates of 1.3 children per woman (Kröhnert 2006:69). Because

[14]https://www.destatis.de/EN/PressServices/Press/pr/2013/05/PE13_188_121.html;jsessionid=BA2370EBB692E775960C5725FB854DD7.cae2 (last retrieved 29th Oct 2015)

statistics do not reflect ethnic background, the country that long resisted becoming a country of immigration now has one of the highest proportions of population with a migrant background of all industrial nations. The percentage of those of migrant descent was at 20.3 % of the overall population in 2014.[15] After 2015, the number will be substantially higher.

2.3.2 MULTICULTURALISM AND INTEGRATION

The fact that being a citizen no longer means being culturally or ethnically German increased, rather than decreased, the uneasiness of many ethnic Germans with their ethnically 'other' compatriots and neighbors. Current debates over migration issues were foreshadowed by several publications over the past years. Books by Sarrazin (2010) and Buschkowsky (2012) caught substantial media attention, for instance. The reason the topic is able to easily stir emotions lies in the questions related to it: If ethnicity, culture and religion are no longer shared, what is the fabric, the source of common identification in German society? What does multiculturalism mean? Are we aiming for sheer co-existence with people of other origins, identities and cultural or religious foundations or are we striving for some sort of togetherness? Should differences be supported? Or merely tolerated? Will they dissolve? Should they be suppressed?

These questions create uneasiness across the political spectrum, not only in Germany. What is specifically German about the way the questions are answered is that the term

[15]https://www.destatis.de/DE/ZahlenFakten/GesellschaftStaat/Bevoelkerung/MigrationIntegration/Migrationshintergrund/Migrationshintergrund.html (last retrieved Sept. 26th 2015)

'multiculturalism' never quite means the same as in immigration societies, such as the U.S or Canada. Almost every political faction disapproves of 'multiculturalism' if it is understood as mere 'coexistence'. Even Germany's leftist parties use the term in a more demanding way. While according to Barbieri (1998:51f) it is 'an article of faith for proponents of the multicultural society that the subordinate *Ausländer* status of the migrants should be replaced by measures guaranteeing them equality of opportunity in German society', it is likewise clear that 'instead of an existence 'next to one another' (*Nebeneinander*), living 'with one another' (*Miteinander*) should be encouraged'. Whether immigrants have to learn German, for instance, or have to comply with local norms or follow the German constitution even in matters that interfere with their religion or conscience, was never questioned. The central concern was merely how much *Miteinander* could be demanded.

The terms integration and assimilation stand at the center of many confrontations surrounding this issue. Barbieri's definitions of the terms are as follows:

> [F]or the most part integration has been seen broadly as the binding together of discrete social groups in a manner aimed at removing conflicts and inequalities between them, while assimilation has been understood as the removal of differences acting as barriers to cultural homogeneity. (Barbieri 1998:48, emphasis original)

Because assimilation nowadays mainly has a negative connotation and denotes 'forced Germanization […] tantamount to an assault on the ethnic identity of foreign residents', the term is usually avoided in debates (Barbieri 1998:49). In its place, different interpretations of 'integration' emerge and entail 'social and economic equality' (ibid): One of them advocates 'the preservation of separate cultural identities' while the other

hopes for 'the development of a new (that is, not simply German) common identity'. Opponents of a pluralistic understanding of multiculturalism are found across the political spectrum in Germany: for instance, the German social scientist Radtke (1994) pointed to the U.S. as a negative example of a society, in which multiculturalism leads to 'ethnic and race-based separatism' (cited in Herbert 2001:328). Multiculturalism understood this way was 'historically regressive in that it keeps alive political patterns of differentiation that were invented back in the 19th century'. Overall, the integration debate produces unusual coalitions: right-wing defenders of German identity may side with universal humanists who criticize that ethno-cultural identities should not be fostered at the expense of universal values. On the other side, pluralist thinkers might find unusual allies among stark cultural conservatives who agree that minorities should be able to actively retain their group identities.

In the last decade, it has become apparent that agents on a local level are very influential in paving the path of integration (cf. Baraulina 2007).[16] Two examples illustrate this. In 2006, the principal of Berlin's Rütli School wrote a letter to the senate of Berlin calling for an intervention at her school. According to her letter, the climate between teachers and their students was marked by aggression and lack of respect. Over 80% of the students were of non-German descent, many of their parents not working. The letter called for a restructuring of the *Hauptschule*, the lowest school track, since it had become a gathering

[16] *Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung*: http://www.bpb.de/apuz/30455/integration-und-interkulturelle-konzepte-in-kommunen?p=all (last retrieved Sept. 26th 2015)

place for the losers of the German educational system. Immediately, the situation sparked media attention and political debate. The same year, a large-scale study of educational outcomes in Germany (PISA) showed that students with an immigrant background lagged behind substantially in reading and math, with Berlin among the states with the worst performance for youth with an immigrant background. Taken together, the events contributed to the political decision that the lowest school track in Berlin was merged with higher school tracks, and the Rütli School became one of the first integrated school campuses of the city.[17]

Another example shows how circumstances can develop adversely. In 2008, fierce street riots by local youth gangs dominated the local news headlines of Leipzig for a week. Certain immigrant youth were staging a gang fight with the German-dominated scene of local bouncers. A bystander was shot dead, and a gymnasium next to my residence was burned down. Surprisingly, the case caused substantially less national media interest than the Rütli School case even though it included substantial casualties and damage. Leipzig's mayor Jung announced in a TV interview that 'nothing was wrong' in Leipzig. He spoke of a 'basic situation in the bouncer milieu' that was 'unfortunately part of the free democratic constitution' in every German city.[18] Afterwards, media coverage subsided. However, the sources of the problem were strikingly similar to those in Berlin: From working in the neighborhoods of Neustadt-Neuschönefeld and Volkmarsdorf (East

[17] *Wikipedia*: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/R%C3%BCtli_School (last retrieved Sept. 26th 2015)
[18] *Spiegel TV*: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RvhxWhUy2xk, minute 4:15 (last retrieved Sept. 26th 2015)

Leipzig) where most members of the gang fight came from, I know that hardly any of the male family members in immigrant families attended higher secondary schools, and many of them left school without a degree. Welfare rates were soaring at close to 50%, and 20% of all foreigners were without jobs (*Migranten in der Stadt Leipzig 2010*: 44-47). Many of the children I tutored left their neighborhood only once a month, although it took only fifteen minutes to walk to the center of town. Publicly, the violence was not being connected to these factors, and consequently, not many things have changed in East Leipzig since then.[19]

The examples above illustrate that local administration has substantial power in Germany when it comes to paving the way to integration. Depending on how issues are handled, different cities achieve different results. To the degree that integration fails, very different self-perceptions emerge among youth of migrant descent. In Berlin, a blend of German and ethnic heritage often is emphasized, or new terms for a mixed identity are created.[20] In East Leipzig, youth of migrant descent self-identified as *Kanaken* – a clearly derogatory term. The elementary school students I worked with in Braunschweig described themselves as *Ausländer* 'foreigner' – a term with a neutral to negative connotation to it – although they were born in Germany and had German citizenship. During the eight years of engagement with children and youth in immigrant communities, I never encountered

[19] Employment and welfare numbers have not improved, as the document *Migranten in der Stadt Leipzig 2012* shows: http://statistik.leipzig.de/statpubl/index.aspx?cat=13&rub=2&obj=0 (last retrieved Sept. 26th 2015); a visit in 2013 convinced me that conditions on the ground were still similar to five years prior.

[20] For instance, in conversations with Turkish speakers Turkish heritage is often emphasized. Fadi Saad, a German-Palestinian author from Neukölln, introduces the reader to the term *Deuraber* [Gerabic] (Saad 2008:81).

ethnically non-German youth with German citizenship that primarily self-described themselves as 'Germans'. Instead, the self-identification was often fluid, including local and ethnic specifications. Sauter (1996) documents similar self-descriptions in his ethnographic study of Turks in Frankfurt. One of his female interviewees states:

> I have a great job, but I know, that my boss is against foreigners. And I am the only foreigner in the whole company. But I am still there! And when he [the boss] says to me, you are German, I say: Hold it there! I am Turkish. I am a Turkish woman born in Germany. But there are moments, where I say that I am German, I am a Frankfurter, I am from Oberräd. […] I can call myself a *Kanake*, but no other person can say it. No one has the right to do so. (Sauter 2000:125f)[21, 22]

Self-confident, mixed identities cannot be produced or prescribed, but they are emerging in Germany to different degrees under varying circumstances. Using a distinct variety of German could be an option for certain youth to express this hybrid status, and multiethnolects are commonly associated with precisely such an expression of hybridity – in both negative and positive ways.

2.3.3 Reactions to Language Change

The German multiethnolect first entered the collective consciousness of German media and pop-culture through comedy productions such as *Erkan & Stefan* and *Mundstuhl* (after 1995), books such as Zaimoglu's *Kanak Sprak* (1995) and *Abschaum* (1997), the cooperative rap project *Cartel* which brought together several smaller Turkish-German rap

[21] Ich hab ein super Arbeitsplatz, aber ich weiss genau, dass mein Chef gegen Ausländer ist. Und ich bin der einzige Ausländer in der ganzen Firma. Und ich bin trotzdem da! Und wenn er [der Chef] zu mir sagt, du bist eine Deutsche, sag ich: Stop! Ich bin Türkin. Ich bin als Türkin geboren in Deutschland. Aber es gibt Momente, da sag ich auch, ich bin Deutsche, ich bin Frankfurterin, ich bin Oberräderin. [...]Ich kann zu mir selbst Kanake sagen, aber kein anderer kann mir das sagen. Kein anderer hat dazu das Recht.

[22] The reappropriation of negative terminology by members of the insulted ethnic group is also well known from the American context, in particular in the African American community.

acts (1995-1996), and movies such as *Knockin' on Heaven's Door* (1997) with Moritz Bleibtreu. Along with the age of all these protagonists came the overall impression that the phenomenon was a young one, that it represented a new 'immigrant' voice within German youth culture. Bleibtreu's article *'Kommst du Frankfurt?' - Warum es auf einmal cool ist, wie ein Ausländer deutsch zu sprechen* ('Are You Coming Frankfurt?'- Why it suddenly is cool to speak German like a foreigner') brought the topic to the headlines in 1999: increasingly, there was a sense that the 'lingo' of 'foreign' youth was spreading among urban youth more generally, regardless of background.

The public and academic perceptions of an unmistakable development differed somewhat, but not to an extent that would have impeded the narrative of the emergent 'youth language'. Linguists such as Androutsopoulos (2001) and Auer (2003) observed, for instance, that there were differences in the original context of the 'ethnolect', as they termed it, and the media context. The media discourse, per these authors, was likely leading to the spread of the speech practices by legitimizing their use beyond the immigrant neighborhood or multicultural youth group. In particular, Auer (2003) makes a distinction between two types of boundary crossing, namely, (i) the crossing into the 'ethnolect original' by youth without immigration background sharing the same social space with the ethnic authors of the variety, and (ii) the crossing into a stylized form emerging outside the neighborhood in pop-cultural stylization, imitation, affirmation and exaggeration. He further suggests that the mediated version of the variety fed directly back into the neighborhood ethnolect, creating a quasi-circular relationship.

While in the late 1990s multiethnolects were often associated with the Turkish community and their usage outside of these communities had a humorous touch to it, the atmosphere radically changed throughout the last decade. The recent outcry over Heike Wiese's work on *Kiezdeutsch* (2012), which claims that the development of a dialect is under way in socioeconomically weak inner city neighborhoods across Germany, is an example of this climate change. While the media celebrated Wiese's seemingly fresh view on a publicly salient phenomenon, she received vocal criticism right up to anonymous threats for her suggestion.

However, Wiese's work was less innovative than perceived: features such as coronalization, consonant deletion in affricates, article deletion, pronoun omission, directional bare noun constructions and non-standard word order have been documented for adolescents living in immigrant environments for over a decade (cf. Füglein 2000, James 2003, Auer 2003, Dirim & Auer 2004, Kern & Selting 2006, Keim 2007). The terminological boundaries that Wiese crossed also evoked responses by several linguists. Glück (2012), a dialectologist who supported Füglein's (2000) early interest in 'ethnolectal' developments, attacked Wiese's work in one of Germany's large newpapers, the F.A.Z. In another interview he claimed that she was 'trying to partake in the prestige of dialects, by applying this term to a way of speaking that is anything but a dialect'.[23] To him this adolescent speech form only has the status of an *Angebersprache*, literally, a show-

[23] 'Frau Wiese versucht einfach, am Prestige des Dialekts zu partizipieren, indem sie diesen Begriff auf eine Sprechweise überträgt, die alles andere als ein Dialekt ist'. http://www.rp-online.de/kultur/kiezdeutsch-ist-kein-dialekt-1.2801115 (last retrieved Sept. 26th 2015)

off-language. According to Auer (2013), a more moderate critic, the German word *Dialekt* (which is not quite compatible with the English term 'dialect') implies regional roots and historical depth that *Kiezdeutsch* does not possess. At the same time he points to the fact that all labeling practices are problematic, and all current claims are relatively weakly backed by facts: there are hardly any quantitative studies on the matter in Germany that would support or disconfirm the emergence of a new speech variety (Auer 2013:11).

2.4 Summary

This chapter laid out a history of recent immigration to Germany. The process of migration has been charged with political and social friction, leading to different degrees of successful integration or conviviality today. Foreign workers after WWII quickly turned from a welcomed work force into a potential threat. In political discourse, these workers were often depicted as unwanted guests that were unwilling to leave. The low socioeconomic status of foreign workers exacerbated the situation. The fall of the wall in 1990 amplified hostility towards foreigners due to the sudden border mobility, the influx of German resettlers and other demographic changes that Germans, and East Germans in particular, felt apprehensive towards. In the wake of the new German republic, violence towards foreigners broke out in many places and left a mark on the relationship between foreigners in Germany and their autochthonous neighbors.

Until today, younger generations in immigrant communities face substantial problems of integration into German society. For the longest time, descendants of immigrants were treated as non-citizens due to the *ius sanguinis* regulations for attaining German citizenship. This has only recently changed, when full dual citizenship became an option for many young Germans of migrant descent in 2014. The competing membership notions behind the idea of 'being German' explain why it took decades to disentangle the concepts of ethnicity and citizenship in Germany. This past has lasting effects that reach into the identity debates of today. While recent legal changes will benefit the tasks of integration in the future, there is a past that cannot be ignored if the roots of multiethnolects are to be fully understood.

New language environments emerged along with the identity struggles that took place in many relatively young immigrant communities. As a result, many young people of migrant descent willingly or unwillingly exhibit distinct ways of speaking German. The linguistic changes appear to resonate positively with peers who adopt these ways of speaking, but they resonate negatively with the general public, as the extreme backlash against Wiese's work shows. Often the problem concerns the terminology that is employed to describe the phenomenon: academics also criticized Wiese when she spoke about an emergent 'multiethnic dialect'.

With close to a million refugees who do not speak German arriving only in 2015, the linguistic landscape of Germany is certain to diversify even more. While it seems too early to tell how this development will affect the German language, research on multiethnolects

offers some insight in the different factors involved in the outcome of linguistic integration. The following chapter will elaborate on current research on multiethnolects and the terminologies involved. It will also systematically compare the findings of studies on multiethnolects in Germany with regard to social and linguistic characteristics.

3. A COMPARISON OF MULTIETHNOLECT STUDIES

3.1 Introduction

Elaborating on the introduction, this chapter more thoroughly discusses multiethnolects and their characteristics. It provides a survey of multiethnolect studies in Europe, more generally, and in Germany, in particular, and it criticizes certain assumptions many of these studies make. The chapter begins with an overview of multiethnolect studies in Europe and a summary of existing definitions of the term. A systematic and more extensive survey of the multiethnolect literature in Germany forms the second section of the chapter. It contains a comparison of social factors across studies as well as the morphosyntactic features they report. A critical discussion of the three assumptions that I identified as problematic in the introduction concludes the chapter before I give an outlook over the remainder of this dissertation.

3.2 Multiethnolect Studies in Europe

3.2.1 Overview

In a recent review article of so-called 'multiethnolects', Nortier & Dorleijn (2013:299) state that 'all over Europe where many relatively recent immigrant communities of various ethnic and linguistic origin have settled, highly specific, slang-like linguistic styles emerge among multiethnic adolescent groups'. They clarify that the phenomenon is 'not a new

[one], but more a phenomenon of all times, that was waiting for linguists to give it a name' (ibid:231). To underline this claim, they survey a variety of studies concerned roughly with multiethnolect speech practices across the world and attempt to define the term. Some of the European studies in their survey are briefly introduced here, along with other relevant studies. Following the survey, I turn to the term *multiethnolect* itself and discuss how suitable the term actually is.

Kotsinas (1988) on language development in multi-ethnic immigrant neighborhoods of Sweden is the earliest study on the phenomenon of multiethnolects. Notably, Kotsinas' article directly refers to developments among immigrant children, not primarily among adolescents. The speaker-coinage *Rinkebysvenska* 'Rinkeby-Swedish' describes an emergent new variety of Swedish spoken in the immigrant district of Rinkeby, Stockholm. As public interest grew and a body of literature developed, the term eventually became associated with an adolescent register in Sweden (cf. Kotsinas 1998, Milani & Jonnsson 2012:44). Kotsinas' (1998:136) later work is concerned with the prosody of the register 'which is often described as 'choppy' or 'uneven' by speakers themselves', as well as the lexicon which appears to be borrowed in part from Turkish, Serbo-Croatian, Arabic and further immigrant languages, and morphology where common gender is often overgeneralized at the expense of masculine and feminine gender. She also reports that Swedish subject-verb-inversion is sometimes violated, as shown in example (3.1) below.

(3.1) ***igår*** ***jag*** ***war*** ***sjuk.***
yesterday 1s was sick.
igår *war* *jag* *sjuk.*
'Yesterday I was sick'. (Kotsinas 1998:137)

In her master's thesis, Aasheim (1997) examines lexical loans in the emergent speech practices of *Kebab-norsk* (Kebap-Norwegian), or otherwise *Byvankerspråk* (street language). Of the 150 loans under examination many came from Turkish, Arabic and Berber (Quist 2008:45). Further, Svendsen & Røneland (2008:72) observe characteristics on the level of prosody which is characterized by outsiders as sounding like speakers are 'constantly angry […] it is so harsh'. Svendsen & Røneland also find violations of subject-verb-inversion. In addition, Aarsæther (2010) finds that while there is a connection between ethnicity and the use of the features in Oslo, the features are now wide spread in the East End of Oslo and used also among ethnic Norwegians of the area.

For Denmark, Quist (2000) presents a youth language from a multiethnic area of Copenhagen. The youth call their language practices *Perkerdansk* 'Perker-Danish' using the re-appropriated term *perker* (a derogatory blend of *pakistaner* 'Pakistani' and *tyrker* 'Turk'). Quist coins a less controversial term, *Københavnsk Multietnolekt* 'Copenhagen multiethnolect', and is the first to adopt and redefine the term multiethnolect from Clyne (2000). Quist (2008:48) reports a syllable-timed prosody, a narrowing of the difference between short and long vowels, overextension of common gender in indefinite and definite articles, such as *en job* instead of standard Danish *et job* (English 'a job') or *den der blad* instead of *det der blad* (English 'that magazine') (ibid:47). Finally, the same lack of

inversion is reported as for Swedish and Norwegian. Quist emphasizes that ethnic Danish adolescents also use the variety. Mixed speaker networks appear to favor participation in these speech practices.

Similarly, in the Netherlands, Appel (1999) and Nortier (2001) report that *Straattaal* (street language) is a variety of Dutch developing among speakers from several ethnic backgrounds. Nortier & Dorleijn (2013:251f.) summarize that there are several lexical features from Surinamese and other languages, there is evidence for overextension of common gender as in Danish and Swedish, and that Dutch pronoun rules are loosening.

In the linguistically and ethnically different context of French immigrant neighborhoods, Sherzer (1976), Lefkowitz (1989, 1991) and Doran (2000, 2004) document the practice of switching word syllables which later becomes known as *verlan* (from French *l'envers* meaning 'backwards'). In addition to word play, the emergent speech practices are characterized by lexical elements from minority languages and immigrant languages. Evers (in press) writes about syncretism (Woolard 1997) of the interference type (Haugen 1956) within a French variety local to Marseille. Its G2 speakers term this variety *Castellanois* after the housing project, *La Castellane*, in which they live. In it, youth overlay Marseille's working-class vernacular with phonology from dialectal Arabic. The variety that results, which conveys an auditory impression of having an 'Arabic accent' in Marseille's vernacular, is said to mark their identity as neither from the first generation of immigrants to Marseille nor from the more affluent sectors of Marseille where Standard French is spoken. Table 3.1, below, shows different distributions of pronunciations in

French, the Marseille vernacular (as spoken by Marseillais who are not G2 youth), and Castellanois.

Standard French	Marseille vernacular	Castellanois
g**ʁo**s 'thick'	g**ʁɔ**s**ə**	gχ**ɔ**s**ə**
mi**d**i 'midday'	mi**d**i	mi**ʤ**i
ɑpʁɛ 'after'	**ɑpʁ**ɛ	**ɑχχ**ɛ 'then'
k**ə̃** 'when'	k**əŋ**	k**əŋ**

Table 3.1: IPA examples of register specific speech forms (adapted from Evers, in press)

In an extensive review of previous studies Pooley (2008) mentions a wide range of lexical loans. Based on Armstrong (2003) and Armstrong & Jamin (2002), he also concludes that 'there is good reason to believe that the *banlieues* [suburban neighborhoods] are the main source of vernacular innovation at the phonological level' (Pooley 2008:326). Further, there are contractions of diphthongs and omission of consonant clusters at the morpho-phonological level, such as in [epi] for *et puis* (English 'and then') or [tab] for *table* (English 'table') (ibid:326). Conein & Gadet (2000) and Fagyal (2004) further report distinctive intonation patterns (cf. Pooley 2008:332).

Table 3.2, below, contains a summary of the above-mentioned features and some of the pertinent social factors. All speech practices involve more than one ethnicity and include speakers of the majority language to some extent. In most studies, a distinct prosody is discussed. Only in France is there a creative element of syllabic word play as it is inherent to *Verlan* – a development of clearly unique status in Europe. Lexical loans from immigrant languages are common in all multiethnolects. The four Germanic languages have gender distinction and require inversion as a word order rule, but their multiethnolectal

manifestations overextend the neuter gender category and loosen the inversion rules. In *Straattaal* there also are instances of non-standard pronoun usage.

	Rinkebysvenska (Sweden)	*Kebab-norsk* (Norway)	*Perkerdansk* (Denmark)	*Straattaal* (Netherlands)	*Verlan* (France)
Ethnolinguistic Composition:	Turkish, Arab, Serbocroatian, Latin American	Turkish, Arab, Berber, Somali	Turkish, Kurdish, Pakistani, Serbian	Surinamese, Arab, Turkish	Arab, Romani, Carribean, West African
Non-migrant speakers	Confirmed	Confirmed	Confirmed	Confirmed	Confirmed
Distinct Prosody	Confirmed	Confirmed	Confirmed	Not reported	Confirmed
Syllabic word play	Not reported	Not reported	Not reported	Not reported	Confirmed
Lexical loans	Confirmed	Confirmed	Confirmed	Confirmed	Confirmed
Non-standard gender	Confirmed	Not reported	Confirmed	Confirmed	N/A
Non-standard word order	Confirmed	Confirmed	Confirmed	Confirmed	N/A
Non-standard pronoun use	Not reported	Not reported	Not reported	Confirmed	Not reported

Table 3.2: Summary of reports on so-called multiethnolects of Europe

In a short review of multiethnolects in Europe, Wiese (2009:788) also mentions omissions as typical features of multiethnolects. However, these features appear to be most prominent in multiethnolects across Germany, including Swiss German youth languages (cf. Dittli et al. 2003). Reports from outside the German-speaking countries provide no coherent evidence of omissions and omissions in multiethnolect speech practices.

3.2.2 DEFINITIONS

Before moving to the German context, where the term 'multiethnolect' was long avoided, I will briefly study the definitions that have been given for this term in a chronological fashion. In 2000, Clyne wrote a paper on *linguae francae* and ethnolects, defining the latter as 'varieties of a language that mark speakers as members of ethnic groups'. According to Clyne, an ethnolect shows signs of 'the influence of a language no longer spoken by a group … on its lexicon, grammar, phonology and prosody' (Clyne 2000:86). He cites Jewish American English and German Australian English as examples. Clyne suggests a different term for linguistic developments in Europe, which are born out of migrant contexts that are vastly different from those in the New World:

> The other type of ethnolect may be termed a 'multi-ethnolect' because several minority groups use it collectively to express their minority status and/or as a reaction to that status to upgrade it. In some cases […] members of the dominant (ethnic) group, especially young people, share it with the ethnic minorities in a 'language crossing' situation (Kotsinas 1992, Rampton 1995, 1998). It is the expression of a new kind of group identity. (Clyne 2000:87)

Understanding Clyne's definition presupposes familiarity with Rampton's definition of 'crossing' as

> the use of a language which isn't generally thought to 'belong' to the speaker. Language crossing involves a sense of movement across quite sharply felt social or ethnic boundaries, and it raises issues of legitimacy that participants need to reckon with in the course of their encounter (Rampton 1995:24)

Following these criteria, multiethnolects across Europe are spoken across ethnic groups and include autochthonous speakers. Rampton's definition also emphasizes the emergence of a new group identity – a point that connects to the identity struggle adolescents of the early generations (G1.5, G2) face in European societies as they grow up straddling the majority culture and the parental culture.

Clyne's definition, however, brings with it two terminological problems: first, speaking of a multiethnolect as another 'type of ethnolect', presupposes that something remains 'ethnic' about this speech form. The diverse language and cultural backgrounds of speakers, however, seem to contradict this notion. In fact, it appears that the multiethnolect is something like a minority-group-lect that is in itself a contact language, a social compromise and, in fact, an 'anti-ethnolect'. Second, using the suffix *–lect*, which alludes to a variety, contradicts Clyne's emphasis on the stylistic choices that are supposedly so prominent in this speech form. The deliberate act connected to its usage does not easily go hand in hand with the 'variety' terminology used in sociolinguistics. 'Varieties' in this discipline are understood to be linguistic entities shared across speakers in a more subconscious manner. They are not necessarily employed based on a speaker choice, and they contrast with the deliberate application of a linguistic code to express social meaning. 'Style' and 'register choice' appear more connected to conscious effort, to 'acts of identity' (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985).

Quist (2008) is aware of this contradiction and elaborates on Clyne's (2000) definition:

> A multi-ethnolect is a linguistic 'something', a variety or style, which has developed in multiethnic urban communities and which is associated with speakers of mixed ethnic groups. The prefix 'multi' indicates the contrast to an 'ethnolect', the speakers of which typically constitute one minority group. (Quist 2008:44)

Quist's (2008) formulation leaves open both the possibility of an essentialist and a constructivist explanation of the multiethnolect phenomenon: according to this definition, they could be a variety that emerged and was adopted by speakers unconsciously, while at the same time speakers could be agents of constructing the speech style for a socially

meaningful purpose. While the two sides do not have to be mutually exclusive, Nortier & Dorleijn (2013:229) redefine the term and exclude the variety connotation. They claim that multiethnolects are 'more often than not quite ephemeral phenomena' that 'can be put on and taken off like a glove' (ibid:238). In their view, speakers deliberately draw from language contact features to construct the multiethnolect:

> A multi-ethnolect is a linguistic style that is part of linguistic practices of speakers of more than two different ethnic and (by consequence) linguistic backgrounds, and contains features from more than one language, but has one clear lexical and grammatical base language, generally the dominant language of the society where the multi-ethnolect is in use. It is largely the result of the conscious agentivity of its users, and it has the function to index social identities. (Nortier & Dorleijn 2013:243)

Nortier & Dorleijn (2013) claim that their definition includes 'also the aspects that are perhaps the most crucial: the way [the multiethnolect] is created and the function it has' (ibid). However, it excludes the possibility that the *-lect* is the result of forces other than speakers' deliberate decision to index their social identity in a specific way. Indeed, Nortier & Dorleijn suggest that the 'use of a multi-ethnolect is a continuous act of identity' and that 'the task of the researcher is not so much oriented toward description of the linguistic structural properties […] but to describe and find universals in the way these are mobilized to symbolically express these identities' (ibid). These strong claims are supported by select examples from ethnographic studies, but do not appear to be quantitatively backed, however.

In Germany, the term 'multiethnolect' is a recent introduction. Even though most authors here focus on speakers with a Turkish background, all deal with non-homogeneous groups, which is why the phenomena can also be discussed under the definitions of

'multiethnolects' by Clyne (2000), Quist (2008) and Nortier & Dorleijn (2013). Also, as mentioned in the introduction, the German work is based on the same assumptions as Nortier & Dorleijn (2013). These assumptions are: (i) that only adolescents speak this way; (ii) that the observed features in the language of G2 and G3 do not stand in a relationship of transmission to the language of earlier generations, because they are deliberately employed and have a limited function within speakers' repertoire; and (iii) that the features are not representative of any first acquired versions of the majority language. The next section introduces a survey I conducted of German studies that share one or more of these assumptions, but address the multiethnolect phenomenon from different perspectives.

3.3 Multiethnolect Studies in Germany

3.3.1 Literature Survey: Organization and Criteria

My survey ranges from the year 2000, when Füglein published her work on *Kanak Sprak,* to publications of the early 2010s, such as Wiese (2012) on *Kiezdeutsch*.[24] It chronologically presents possible demographic and social predictors or factors that characterize each study, before offering a presentation of morphosyntactic features that are documented in the studies, and discusses them in juxtaposition to each other.

[24] The literature on multiethnolects is proliferating quickly. This review was written in 2013, and a whole range of recent publications unfortunately had to be neglected in completing this section. More recent publications such as Auer (2013) have in fact raised and begun to tackle the issues that stood at the outset of this dissertation project. There is a positive trend in the field towards reconsidering the claims I review and discuss in this chapter.

After citing the reference and classifying the study type, the following subsection portrays eight demographic and social factors for each study: (i) the number of participants, their gender, and their age; (ii) the city in which the study was conducted; (iii) the language background of speakers with regard to first (native) languages; (iv) the distance to the migration event in generations with G1 being the generation with the immediate migration experience; (v) a language contact profile describing which languages are spoken at home, whether speakers are reported to code-switch, how much contact with monolingual Germans exists, and whether there are correlations between contact and any linguistic features; (vi) the housing situation of speakers; and (vii) the education of speakers including school type[25], years in school, and what ethnic and linguistic make-up of the school environment is reported. The subsection discussing the study characteristics is followed by a subsection on the most important linguistic features that occur across studies.

3.3.2 Social and Demographic Characteristics

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the German media and music industry increasingly attracted attention to the maturing young G1.5 and G2 members around the millennial turn. Ultimately this led to an increased public awareness of speech practices among youth in neighborhoods with a recent history of migration. In particular, as the most salient phonetic

[25] Until five years ago, students in Germany attended three school tracks after fourth grade: *Hauptschule* (9 years of schooling), *Realschule* (10 years of schooling) and *Gymnasium* (12 years of schooling). Recently, the two lower school tracks are being united to respond to tendencies of social segregation in the *Hauptschule*-track. In some areas, all three school types are being integrated into a common school type similar to the U.S. high school system. However, diplomas are attained separately within these schools and the curriculum preserves the three tracks.

and morphosyntactic features were also found in the speech of German youth, the public impression emerged that a new youth language was developing. German linguists began their data collection roughly around the same time. The studies discussed below, from Füglein (2000) to Keim (2007), represent early approaches to these speech practices by linguists with different levels of experience. Most of the studies skip a review of work from the 1990s which was concerned with bilingual Turkish-German children and predicted the potential for language change due to non-standard ways of speaking of German (cf. Queen 1996, Pfaff 1994), all studies refer to the so-called 'ethnolect' or 'multiethnolect' as an outcome of register choice and identity construction among young Turks and their non-Turkish peers. Also, in contrast to research on similar developments in Sweden and France in the 1980s, which considered potential influences from parental learner varieties (Kotsinas 1988; Kefkowitz 1989, 1991), most German linguists make only marginal reference to other possible sources of the new phenomenon. An exception is Füglein's (2000) work with which the survey begins.

3.3.2.1 *Kanak Sprak*: a 'Socio-ethnic Variety'

Conceptualized as a German *Diplomarbeit* (equivalent to a Master thesis), Füglein (2000:1) approaches the 'linguistic behavior of foreign youth' in an ethnographic framework of communication, using descriptive methods. The data was collected from around 40 speakers aged 11-21 mostly by note-taking and in some situations with help of audio recordings. In order not to affect her participants' speech unnecessarily, the author portrays herself to speakers as a journalist of a youth magazine, and in some cases even

elicits anonymously and secretively. The most important sites of collection are in Southern Germany: Neuperlach, a large immigrant neighborhood of Munich, two middle sized cities (Nürnberg and Böblingen) and a village (Urbach). Participants attend the lowest school tracks and their status is socio-economically low.

Füglein intends to leave the reader with a first impression of the complexity of the matter at hand, instead of giving a complete assessment. Picking up on media discourse in a provocative manner, Füglein refers to the speech practices as *Kanak Sprak*, based on Zaimoglu's (1995) publication of edited interviews with the same name.[26] Here, the pejorative term *Kanake* was used in controversial re-appropriation of the term. Füglein sets out illustrations of *Kanak Sprak* that abound with associations of multicultural conflict, ruptured identities, and speech impediment:

> They feel like 'mixed bloods', 'bastards', and outsiders – just what the word '*Kanaken*' expresses. And they developed their own 'Kanak Sprak', a Babylonian credo of the street, a kind of creole derived from German, Turkish and American English. It is the frontline-slang of the immigrant neighborhoods, the areas of multicultural close combat. (Saller 1999, S III, quoted in Füglein 2000:1)[27]

After setting the tone for controversy, Füglein (2000:13f) continues to weave her work into the fabric of public discourse, often treating pop-cultural and popular representations as fact. She begins to question whether these depictions actually meet reality later in her study. A brief overview of the German learner varieties of foreign workers in G1 draws on work by Meisel (1975), Keim (1984) and Löffler (1994), and considers the possibility of

[26] The book is a compilation of heavily edited and stylized interviews with social outsiders in the German-Turkish community.

[27] Sie fühlen sich als ‚Mischlinge', ‚Bastarde' und Außenseiter. Als ‚Kanaken' eben. Und sie haben ihre eigene ‚Kanak Sprak' entwickelt, ein babylonisches Straßencredo, eine Art Kreol aus Deutsch, Türkisch und Amerikanisch. Es ist der Frontslang der Einwandererviertel, der Zonen des multikultikulturellen Nahkampfs.

non-standard input to the German of G2 in an atmosphere of psycho-sociological isolation (Füglein 2000:20f.) – a possibility that also suggests itself with regard to the very young speakers she counts among her research pool. With regard to the linguistic biographies of her speakers, she states that Turkish is the dominant language between ages one and six in areas dominated by a Turkish populace (ibid:26f). In environments that are not Turkish-dominant, speakers' repertoire is said to move along a continuum of language preservation and loss. The statement is not backed by literature, or background data of speakers (ibid:52), making it the first description of the *a priori* premise of non-nativeness. The problem with this view is discussed below, in Subsection 3.6.3.

The author further portrays a bilingual environment (Füglein 2000:27), the presence of code-switching (ibid) and a repertoire that is highly variable (ibid:28;42). According to Füglein (2000:129), there are no speakers of 'consistently correct Standard German' in her sample, but all exhibit varying degrees of *Kanak Sprak* usage depending on the situation and the topic of discourse. Füglein (ibid:148) argues for a mix of sources leading to this 'socio-ethnic variety:' namely, influences from spoken Standard German, fossilized second language acquisition, functional tendencies and extra-linguistic factors. With regard to the latter she believes that a deliberate and exaggerated use of certain features such as omission of articles and prepositions aligns with the speakers non-acceptance of their inferior status within German society: 'One could say they are creating a world for themselves which stands in opposition to middle-class reality and therefore showcase their language with pride and self-confidence' (Füglein 2000:130).

With regard to the ethnic component of her work, Füglein (2000:51) admits that her focus on Turkish youth is more a matter of preference than a matter of assessing the reality of these speech practices. Speakers of Albanian, Bosnian, Italian and German background heavily contribute to the data set Füglein presents, making it appear questionable that the phenomenon is merely prevalent among Turkish speakers. Füglein appears to be the first of a number of linguists that intuitively attribute the variety to the Turkish minority, without offering strong data substantiating this relationship.

3.3.2.2 *Türkenslang*: an 'Ethnolect'

Although Füglein's work was completed in 2000, it was not until Auer (2003) and Dirim & Auer (2004) that descriptions on adolescent speech in urban immigrant communities became broadly available. Dirim & Auer's (2004) data is gathered incidentally, during a study on the use of Turkish among non-Turkish teenagers in Hamburg. The basis of the study are ethnolinguistic interviews and self-recordings by 25 speakers from three multiethnic neighborhoods in Hamburg who are proficient in Turkish to differing degrees. Because Turkish use by non-Turks was the object of study, speakers have diverse backgrounds and Turkish speakers are excluded from the data set: Arab (6), Serbo-Croatian (2), Russian (1), monolingual German (9), Creole (1), Bulgarian (1), Greek (1), Farsi (2), Azeri (1) and Polish (1). Thirteen speakers in the study attend the lowest school track in Germany, three attend intermediate schools, and nine attend a higher school track leading to the diploma for college admission.

The analysis reveals three main motives for the teens' learning and speaking Turkish, some of which are taken as evidence that speakers accommodate to the variety of German spoken by young Turks in the process: the affiliation with Turks as a cultural group, the association with youth culture, and the association with social outsiders. The last motive is similar to the contrastive act of identity of *Kanak Sprak* speakers mentioned above by Füglein (2000:130). These three categories and the use of Turkish and the Turks' style of speaking German do not correlate (Dirim & Auer 2004:213): for instance, learning Turkish for cultural reasons does not automatically imply being a social outsider, and accommodating to the German speech practices of Turkish youth implies an association with 'youth culture' and 'the ghetto', but does not create an association with Turkish culture.

In order to investigate the cross-regional status of the speech practices, Dirim & Auer further compare their data to recordings from an ethnographic study of a gang of Turkish youth dating back to the early 1990s in Frankfurt (Tertilt 1996) as well as to the data of Füglein (2000). Since a number of features, such as the omission of articles, prepositions and pronouns occur across the studies, Dirim & Auer (2004) conclude that the features in question are best characterized as part of a variety, an ethnolect of German with roots in the Turkish community. Auer's (2003) seminal reference to the variety as *Türkenslang* also gives witness to this. Here, Auer clearly distinguishes between the *primary ethnolect* as used by speakers with Turkish background and their multinational peers within the immigrant neighborhood and the *secondary ethnolect*, that is, the variety as picked up by

the media and reproduced in a stylized form. Germans using the variety outside its context are users of the tertiary ethnolect – a variety that has little to do with the original phenomenon. The secondary ethnolect inspires the tertiary ethnolect and has the potential to feed back into the original source of the ethnolect. Dirim & Auer (2004) find that the ethnic association of *Türkenslang* is loosening due to these varying paths of dissemination: the diversity of their own participants as well as the broad reception in the media (cf. Androutsopoulos 2001) illustrate the potential of the variety to de-ethnicize and proliferate beyond the immigrant community with its primary speakers into mainstream society.

Contrary to Füglein (2000), Dirim & Auer (2004:215) do not believe that second language acquisition phenomena, as found in the German learner varieties of parents, can explain the non-standard realizations because speakers also 'know the 'correct' German rules' and there is 'enormous variability' in their speech. The authors are the first to formulate the premise of non-transmission between parental learner varieties and the 'ethnolect' speech of later generations. The argument they offer is discussed along with similar lines of thought from Kern & Selting (2006) and Keim (2012) in Subsection 3.6.1.

3.3.2.3 *Stylized Turkish German:* a 'Style' among Turkish Speakers

Dirim & Auer's (2004) placement of *Türkenslang* as an ethnolect in the repertoire only peripherally touched on the question of the function and role this variety has for its speakers. Füglein offered a view that incorporated both the possibility of an origin in second language acquisition and a youth-related function of identity marking and boundary work of speakers with help of the variety. Yet, her ethnographic insights came from various

environments and groups, each of which could have their own relationship to the variety in question – especially, when used as a tool of identity construction.

With ethnographic data collection falling into roughly the same time frame as that of Füglein's (2000) study, Eksner set out in 2000 to study the use of the 'new code' with the goal of describing the exact place it occupied in the repertoire of a specific group of speakers, what social meaning it had, and what function it served (cf. Eksner 2006:7). Eksner volunteered in a youth center of *Kreuzberg 36*, one of Berlin's notorious 'Turkish' neighborhoods with 55% of the population of Turkish origin to gather her data. She engaged in half a year of participant observation of roughly 20 male and six female Turkish-German adolescents aged between 13 and 27, before asking them to participate in qualitative interviews and an Inferred Personality Characteristics Test (Lambert 1960), a perceptual task in which speech recordings are presented to speakers and the listener's comments on accent, perceived social ranking and personality of speakers are collected as qualitative data. 6 males and 1 female agreed to participate. In addition, Eksner draws on recordings from a video project she conducted at the youth center, as well as observations at a local schoolyard which allowed for observations of the interaction with monolingual German peers, who are said to copy the style of the Turkish speakers.

Hence, Eksner (2006) shares the presupposition of previous studies that the speech practices are 'owned' by and originate among Turkish youth. As in Füglein (2000) and Auer (2003) she also references the popular media discourse to underline this point. However, she also presents empirical arguments for why she believes the phenomenon is

the product and creative property of Turkish youth: Because speakers mostly use the style in conflict-laden interactions with other ethnic groups such as German and Arab peers (Eksner 2006:110f), Eksner understands the phenomenon as an intentionally employed, situational register and strongly disagrees with the characterization as a speech variety throughout her work. In her view, *Stylized Turkish German* (STG, derived from Rampton's (1995) *Stylized Asian English*) is an explicit tool of reversing power inequalities, which Turkish youth experience in German society, and the usage 'circles around the 'ghetto' trope' (107) in which 'toughness' is part of the shared norm. Meta-comment and in-group critique of 'weakness' are other (more limited) uses (ibid:103). Most importantly perhaps, according to her observations, the STG register is paralleled by a Turkish register of the same kind:

> One of my main insights when inquiring into the properties of STG was that [the Turkish youth] *transfer* the properties that to them index 'toughness' in language to the German code. Thus a 'foreignized' German with Turkish paralinguistic features (in addition to simplification of grammar also signifying 'foreigner') is created, its properties closely modeled on the discourses surrounding indexes of Turkishness and the Turkish language. We find that their language ideologies on Turkish as opposed to German are incremental in the making of STG. I thus came to the conclusion that STG cannot be disconnected from 'tough talk' in Turkish. Rather it must be seen to be intricately connected to its twin-register in Turkish. (Eksner 2006:110)

The above quote insightfully falls in line with Eksner's (2006:108) observation that the adolescents 'accord special importance to the command of the non-German mother or father language as an identity marker'. Further, code-switching is a common practice in the group (ibid:85f) and the bilinguals hold the belief 'that almost all 'foreigners' use code switching and –mixing as part of their inner-sphere linguistic repertoire' (ibid:109).

Although Eksner (2006) makes an effort to more carefully place STG in the repertoire of speakers, there are problems with her work, the most basic being that she references

linguistic features without describing them comprehensively. The readers are left to their own interpretations of what Eksner is talking about. When she notes that '[w]ord orders are reversed, and the grammar is simplified, picking up on common xenolect varieties that they may know from their parents or from stereotypical representations' (Eksner 2006:100), a problematic conflation of Auer's (2003) primary and secondary ethnolect seems to be taking place. Is Eksner (2006) equating the exaggerated media-proliferated form of *Türkenslang* to STG? Which of Auer's (2003) categories of the primary, secondary and tertiary ethnolect best matches her description? Without a feature description the reader can only speculate what STG actually is, and Eksner's references to pop-culture suggest a misleading interpretation.

The problem is compounded when Eksner (2006:110) mentions 'Turkish paralinguistic features (in addition to simplification of grammar […])' as part of the register, because 'paralinguistic characteristics' (ibid:63) from Turkish include Turkish accent, which is clearly categorized by speakers as part of their natural and uncontrived register and not as an exhibition of 'toughness'. Speakers comment on accent as being integral to their identity, and a Turkish girl hiding her accent is characterized as follows: 'Suddenly without [the accent], that would be funny. Then I would think, she only **acts as if**, I mean, she **tries**, that, that she talks like this and that it is not her, her actual, **her** real…' (Eksner 2006:63, emphasis referring to intonation in the original). If the accent speakers refer to differs from the accent of 'Turkish tough talk' and STG the reader deserves to know how and why. The fact that the gang members of '36' also use the STG register to imitate Arab adolescents

possibly points to an 'unmarked' accent, meaning that features of German such as the palatal fricative or certain affricates vanish from the register. This assumption is problematic, though, with regard to the statement that STG 'belongs' to Turkish youth only, as Eksner (2006:103) emphasizes over and over again.

Even though it is impossible to exactly localize STG without more information on the features, there seem to be some *a priori* assumptions that Eksner (2006:99f) shares with others: First, STG 'stands independently' from parents' immigrant language, and if at all, speakers pick up on the parents' features deliberately. Second, it is described as a youth language, and children are not included in the study. Third, the register is a marginal occurrence in speakers' repertoire. Regardless of which of Auer's (2003) categorizations Eksner's STG exactly refers to, these assumptions miss out on the potential reality behind STG. Even a discussion of a 'stylized' register would ideally include a feature discussion identifying the register's potential roots.

On a more ethnographic note, Eksner's (2006) representation of the dichotomy between being Turkish and non-Turkish often reaches a point at which it seems highly specific to the Kreuzberg environment and not representative of Germany as a whole. While this is unproblematic per se, the claims she makes are often rhetorically expanded to the overall debate of the 'new code' among Turkish youth in Germany. Although Füglein (2000) points to similar representations of 'Turkish toughness' in Germany's South, boundaries seem to be far more permeable than in Berlin. Finally, a problem that Eksner herself recognizes is that the study does not adequately represent females' usage of STG.

Fortunately, subsequent studies by Kern & Selting (2006) and Keim (2007) mitigate this gap and offer comprehensive insights into female use of the same or a similar register/variety as STG.

3.3.2.4 *Türkendeutsch*: an 'Ethnic Style'

Likewise working in Berlin-Kreuzberg, Kern & Selting (2006) study the prosodic and syntactic structure of *Türkendeutsch,* literally 'Turk German'. The data base from 2004 consists of telephone calls and casual face-to-face conversations between 10 female speakers aged 16-22. Three of the speakers were studying towards a high school degree at the time, the others were in vocational training. In addition the authors consult data from two conversations involving Turkish, German and Yugoslavian youth. Kern & Selting (2006) set out with the following general claim:

> [T]he Turkish German of Turkish-German youth is in no way a fossilized stage of second language acquisition […], but must be described as a style of speech and interaction with help of which the adolescents solve problems of speech organization and interactively establish meaning while at the same time signaling group identity and expressing their status within and attitude towards majority society. (Kern & Selting 2006:320)[28]

The quote shares with all previous studies the assessment that the use of *Türkendeutsch* is at least in part a deliberate and expressive 'act of identity' (cf. Le Page & Tabouret- Keller 1985). Like Eksner (2006) the authors prefer to speak of a style rather than a variety. A

[28] Full context of this quote: In unseren Daten verwenden die meisten Jugendlichen Äußerungen mit türkendeutschen Merkmalen neben Äußerungen in der Regionalsprache bzw. in Standarddeutsch. In unserem Projekt wird deshalb die Generalhypothese verfolgt, dass das Türkendeutsch türkisch-deutscher Jugendlicher keinesfalls als fossilisierte Zweitspracherbwerbsstufe und damit Ausdruck eines Sprach(erwerbs)defizits aufgefasst werden kann, sondern als Sprech- und Interaktionsstil beschrieben werden muss, mit dem die Jugendlichen gesprächsorganisatorische Aufgaben lösen und interaktiv Bedeutung herstellen sowie ihre Gruppenzugehörigkeit signalisieren und ihre Stellung in der und Einstellung zur Mehrheitsgesellschaft ausdrücken.

prominent role of the style in the repertoire of speakers is also not assumed – rather to the contrary (Kern & Selting 2006:320). However, the authors do not attempt to position the style in the way Eksner (2006) does.

Extensive examples make a morphosyntactic comparison of Kern & Selting's (2006) data with the other studies possible, in spite of the authors' emphasis on discourse, syntax and prosody. In their discussion of these features, Kern & Selting (2006) mention that *Türkendeutsch* often postpones syntactic elements as a discourse marking strategy. Such postpositions go along with a prosodic rise. The constructions exclusively associated with *Türkendeutsch* can indicate focus by placing a prosodic rise on the very last postponed syntactic argument of a phrase. This is not possible in Standard German. The authors make no reference to Queen (1996), who reported similar prosodic patterns for German-Turkish bilingual children in Hesse, Germany, less than 10 years before. A description of *Türkendeutsch* as a stylistic phenomenon or youth language would be problematic if children produce patterns similar in nature to those documented in Kern & Selting (2006).

3.3.2.5 *Ghettodeutsch, Stadtteilsprache*: an 'Ethnolect'

Also reporting on the language use of female speakers, Keim (2007) summarizes almost a decade of ethnography of the *Turkish Power Girls*. The members of this group of Turkish females are G2 members of the migrant communities in two neighborhoods of Mannheim, namely Mannheim-Jungbusch where migrants make up 65% of the population, and Mannheim's Westliche Unterstadt where they make up 45% of the population (Keim 2007:35). Most of the 20 girls were born in Germany after their parents came to Germany

as guest workers. Like Auer (2003) and Dirim & Auer (2004) Keim uses the term 'ethnolect'. Not unlike Füglein (2000) and Eksner (2006), she takes an embedded ethnographic approach and is concerned with a qualitative description of the social circumstances and the corresponding stylistic variation in the linguistic repertoire of the girls. She does not hide her research activities, however, and approaches her speakers openly as a field researcher over the course of several years – a substantially longer period of time than any other linguist in the field. As with Dirim & Auer (2004), the ethnolect is actually not at the center of Keim's study but rather an inevitable linguistic landmark of the urban immigrant environment.

Keim offers insightful descriptions of important life stages the young females reach as they grow up. Several of the girls she works with are able to enter *Gymnasium*, the highest secondary school track in Germany leading to college admission.[29] The transition goes along with a culture shock:

> With the beginning of puberty the girls are caught in the middle of two fronts: On one hand they are fighting against the world of German school, in which they feel rejected, […] on the other hand they are struggling against the world of their parents, whose expectations and standards they revolt against. (Keim 2007:149)[30]

This shared experience is crucial for the speakers' group identity and its demarcation by language use: mixing between Turkish and German as well as between ethnolectal and more normative forms becomes normative for all members of the gang as they interact.

[29] Keim is, unfortunately, vague with exact numbers.

[30] Mit dem Beginn der Pubertät kämpfen die Mädchen [...] an zwei Fronten: Zum einen gegen die Welt der deutschen Schule, von der sie sich abgelehnt fühlen [...]; und zum anderen gegen die Welt der Eltern, gegen deren Erwartungen und Vorgaben sie revoltieren.

Standard German is the language several girls shift to as they enter schools outside their district (ibid:226). In this context, the girls stylize a 'ghetto identity' by using ethnolect forms with teachers under certain circumstances of social distancing (ibid:460). The ethnolect is symbolic of nonconformity in these situations. On the other hand, the younger *Power Girls* who are more connected to the neighborhood or who visit lower school tracks use ethnolect forms as 'regular speech practice' (ibid:225) without any specific non-conformist implication to the usage. Keim (2007:241) believes the ethnolect stabilizes and turns into a sociolect for speakers whose center of life remains in the neighborhood. Outsiders to the immediate group – for instance Turkish-German social workers – are addressed in varying registers, depending on the situation (ibid: 277). But the ethnolect is part of everyday situations in *Hauptschule*, the lowest school track (ibid:234). Overall, the group uses style to maneuver a highly stratified social environment: Keim (2007:413) identifies eleven models of life the girls assign to Turkish immigrants and Germans in both positive and negative stereotyping. Almost every category finds its own linguistic expression in the speakers' repertoire. This observation is in line with Quist's (2008) earlier definition of the multiethnolect as a variety *and* style. If assessed in their respective context, both descriptions could be possible.

A caveat with regard to Keim's work is of course the overt presence of the ethnographer at all times of recording – a situation commonly associated with the Observer's Paradox, that is, paradox faced by the linguistic observer of 'natural speech' when his or her mere

presence changes the informants' way of speaking.[31] On the other hand, long-term descriptive ethnography can reach a level of embeddedness that is not achieved through the evaluation of audio recordings and ethnographic interviews. Keim's documentation clearly shows that the ethnolect is not restricted to the stereotyped Turkish male. She also shows the complex connection between the mixed repertoire and the new mixed identities that characterize the *Turkish Power Girls*.

3.3.2.6 *Kiezdeutsch*: a 'Multiethnolect'

The most recent and arguably most controversial contribution to the field is Wiese's *Kiezdeutsch* project in Potsdam. The project deliberately and provocatively abandons a distinction between primary and secondary speakers of the multiethnolect. Wiese also speaks of ongoing dialect formation in the urban centers of Germany, which elicited reactions from dialectologists (presented in the previous chapter). Her approach to the linguistic developments in neighborhoods marked by immigration is less descriptive than approaches by prior researchers. It is the first study that fully focuses on linguistic features, discusses their origin and attempts to make quantitative sense of them. Four goals appear pivotal: first, Wiese aims to validate the variety status of what she labels *Kiezdeutsch*[32]*;* second, she challenges the notion that this variety is an 'ethnolect' and advocates a broader

[31] For discussion of the so-called observer's paradox, see Labov 1972.

[32] *Kiezdeutsch* is a term Wiese considers ethnically neutral and politically less loaded than the term *Kanak Sprak*, used by Füglein (2000). According to Wiese, speakers in Berlin use *Kiezdeutsch* as a self-descriptive term. *Kiez* is a way of saying 'neighborhood' in large Northern German cities, like Berlin, Hamburg and Bremen. The term is unfamiliar in the South of Germany.

speaker stock under the term 'multiethnolect;' third, Wiese sees more similarities between distinctive features of *Kiezdeutsch* and High German varieties than between *Kiezdeutsch* and contact varieties or results of L2 learning. Finally, the main practical goal of her project is to establish an online corpus of the variety, the *Kiezdeutsch Corpus*. Each of these goals deserves short discussion.

In making her case for *Kiezdeutsch* as a variety, Wiese (2009) admits that there are stylized versions of the multiethnolect in Germany but insists that her focus is on non-stylized manifestations. The reader may recall that Dirim & Auer (2004) also claim to deal with a variety and do so through a feature comparison across time. Wiese's team approaches the problem through a perceptive acceptability study (cf. Freywald et al. 2011): thirty adolescents (9 females/ 21 males) were recruited from Kreuzberg (a multiethnic part of Berlin) and eighteen adolescents (7 females/ 11 males) were recruited from Hellersdorf (a monoethnic part of Berlin). Both groups live under comparable social circumstances in low-income areas with relatively high unemployment rates. The thirty participants from Kreuzberg have different ethnic backgrounds and home languages: Turkish (19), German (6), Arabic (3), Kurdish (1), Polish (1). Participants heard 25 stimuli and were asked to decide whether they or their friends would use the sentence they just heard. The randomly sampled stimuli contained ten sentences with multiethnolect features, namely article omission, lack of copula, bare directional/locative nouns, inflectional deviations and Turkish/Arab loan words. There also were ten spoken Standard German sentences, and five sentences violating the structure of any German variety (e.g. an article following the noun,

random congruence etc.). The results support the view of *Kiezdeutsch* as a variety: while the speakers across neighborhoods did not differ significantly in their grammaticality judgments of standard and ungrammatical sentences, the difference in acceptance of multiethnolect sentences is highly significant. Youth from Berlin-Kreuzberg accepted the sentences twice as often as youth from Berlin-Hellersdorf. There was no significant difference in the rate of acceptance between students with a German background and with immigration background in the group from the multiethnic neighborhood.

This result supports the second goal, demonstrating that speakers 'from different ethnic backgrounds, including the (non-migrant) majority ethnic group' (Freywald et al. 2011:10) participate in the speech practices. Wiese's team sees no empirical evidence of a variety with 'diachronic primacy of Turkish-background speakers' and believes this impression is only due to 'dominance in terms of quantity and visibility' (ibid). While Wiese (2012:44) acknowledges a contribution by ethnolects and does not exclude the possibility of an influence of learner varieties, she emphasizes that these influences are not the driving force behind the multiethnolect and that an immigration background is not constitutive of being a *Kiezdeutsch* speaker. Wiese unfortunately never clarifies how far the feature commonalities between her 'multiethnolect' and so-called ethnolects go. Instead, she uses ethnolectal examples from Dirim & Auer (2004) as examples of *Kiezdeutsch*.

Wiese's third goal is to show that *Kiezdeutsch* is not primarily a product of language transfer or reduced forms, but that it thrives on dynamic functional expansion and innovative use of existing features of German. In the popular science publication

Kiezdeutsch: ein neuer Dialekt entsteht (*Kiezdeutsch*: a new dialect is emerging) Wiese makes it a point to stress that 'in all this, *Kiezdeutsch* remains *typically German*' (Wiese 2012:28, emphasis original)[33], that 'in the end, the grammatical innovations are in every case something typically German' (ibid:50)[34], and that even certain 'reductions are typically German' (ibid:60)[35]. As mentioned, this choice of words evoked strong reactions in Germany's integration debate, both from linguists and non-linguists.

However, not only cultural and linguistic purists can feel uneasy with this approach. Some immediate concerns with such interpretations should be addressed, in order to distinguish description from interpretation. First, Wiese clarifies that by 'typically German' she means part of the family of High German dialects – among which Standard German and most living dialects of German are counted (cf. Wiese 2012:50f). It remains unclear, however, why the diachronic relationship between varieties of German implies an abstract 'system of German' (ibid:64). Several approaches to grammar, including theories of Construction Grammar, would deny the existence of quasi-Platonic language systems that predetermine the rules of the varieties under their diachronic umbrella. The argument is also problematic because it neglects the possibility of other origins: If a feature of *Kiezdeutsch* is shared by another variety of High German, the explanation for its existence is immediately related to the common root in High German and the presupposed system underlying the two. A good example of this way of reasoning is Wiese's suggestion for the

[33] *Kiezdeutsch* bleibt dabei aber letztlich *typisch deutsch*.
[34] … wie die grammatischen Neuerungen in jedem Fall letztlich auch etwas typisch Deutsches sind...
[35] Eine nähere Betrachtung zeigt jedoch, dass auch diese Verkürzungen etwas typisch Deutsches sind.

origin of directional and locative bare nouns in the multiethnolect. The feature is presented as an elaboration of locative and directional bare NPs in informal Standard German. This view is ostensibly supported by empirical data: in descriptions of public transport routes elicited from adult speakers of informal Standard German, speakers employed bare NPs as local or directional expressions in 124 out of 200 cases (Wiese 2009:792). The result shows that directional bare nouns exist in restricted environments of spoken German. According to Wiese 'what happens in *Kiezdeutsch* […] can be seen as an elaboration, a broader application of patterns we find in other spoken variants' (ibid:793). Several alternative explanations could easily be argued for, however: functional aspects of the feature, a transmission from caregiver to child, and possible multiple causation are alternative routes by which the feature could have entered the multiethnolect.

Wiese's final and most ambitious goal, the online *Kiezdeutsch Corpus* with 66 hours of self-recordings by youth from Berlin-Kreuzberg and Berlin-Hellersdorf, has recently been made accessible but was not accessible during the completion of this dissertation.[36] My survey therefore draws from three other sources: first, a pilot study by Wiese (2009:791), consisting of (i) spontaneous speech samples at street corners, on the bus, in shopping centers and other public places (1300 utterances), (ii) recordings of informal conversations with groups of adolescents in youth clubs or in the street (about 4 hours of speech), (iii) self-recordings of a 17-year-old German-born male of Kurdish-Arab descent

[36] http://www.kiezdeutschkorpus.de/en/kidko-main-corpus-and-complementary-corpus, (last retrieved Dec. 10th 2015)

with his friends (about 5 hours of speech); second, an introduction to the *Kiezdeutsch Corpus* by Wiese et al. (forthcoming) containing preliminary findings along with Wiese (2012); third, the website www.kiezdeutsch.de, which provides examples of the multiethnolect quoted from Özçelik's (2005) unpublished Master thesis.

All multiethnolect features presented as typical for *Kiezdeutsch* stem from speakers of multiethnic parts of Berlin, including Kreuzberg, Neukölln and Moabit. The available speakers are predominantly youth with Turkish, Kurdish and Arabic language backgrounds born in Germany.[37] Speakers with bilingual backgrounds are said to use their home language with siblings and friends (Freywald et al. 2011:14). Overall, about 10% of the *Kiezdeutsch Corpus* is in languages other than German – for instance, in Turkish or Arabic (ibid:11).

Wiese's background data stands in partial contrast to Özçelik (2005:137), the source for several www.kiezdeutsch.de examples. Of Özçelik's 19 enlisted speakers, 16 claim to know German better than Turkish, describing an imbalanced bilingualism. All speakers report to practice language mixing. Also, none of Özçelik's participants claim to have close German friends. Of the sixteen school classes the speakers attend all but three are predominantly non-German (ibid: 140), leaving an impression that stands in contrast to Wiese's claim of a speaker network that is inherently inclusive of monolingual Germans.

[37] The *Kiezdeutsch Corpus* builds on recordings of seventeen speakers with Turkish-German (8), Kurdish-German (3) Arabic-German (2), and monolingual German (4) language backgrounds. Most speakers are born in Germany. Participants were aged fourteen to seventeen years at the time of the recordings. (Wiese et al. 2012:8). Özçelik's (2005) data base includes recordings from nineteen children and youth of Turkish and Kurdish descent from generation 2. Participants were aged twelve to fifteen years.

Another difference in backgrounds underlying the data from the *Kiezdeutsch Corpus* and Özçelik's (2005) data is educational background. Recall that Keim (2007:225) finds the *Hauptschule*, that is, the lowest school track to be the environment in which the ethnolect is the natural register. However, Wiese's data comes from students in a former middle track school (*Realschule*). Hence, few students from the lowest educational track are represented in the corpus. Among Özçelik's participants there are 4 students from low school tracks (*Hauptschule*, *Sonderschule*), 8 from middle school tracks (*Realschule*) and 2 from the highest school track leading to college admission (*Gymnasium*). Besides, 5 students attended trackless integrated schools.[38] These differences may explain why Wiese has the impression that 'a lot of speakers can switch between standard and multi-ethnolect' (2009:790), while Özçelik finds that several of her interviewees have difficulties using Standard German as they operated on the formal end of their stylistic range.[39] This is the more crucial, since Özçelik attained her data in formal interviews. Only eight participants are able to remain in a register close to Standard German under these circumstances, while the other eleven, including those in higher school tracks, use features that also show up in the multiethnolect Wiese (2009) portrays.[40] Although the claim that students on higher school tracks can easily switch into Standard German is not confirmed for Özçelik's (2005)

[38] At the time of the studies under discussion distinct school types still existed in Berlin. They have since been abolished and replaced by integrated schools (see Chapter 1).

[39] For more detail on how interview situations help elicit the borders of the stylistic range, see Labov (1972:211).

[40] The overall higher proportion of students with immigration background in the students' environment could be a reason for these results as twelve of the classes attended by Özçelik's (2005) participants only have 2-4 German students. Likewise, the *Kiezdeutsch Corpus* was recorded by students from a school where 84% of students have immigration background (Freywald et al 2011:14).

participants, the fact that the features occur in the *Kiezdeutsch Corpus* and in Özçelik's (2005) data shows that the phenomenon goes beyond a certain school track in Berlin. The breadth of occurrence of the features may indeed be a sign of the vernacularization of the phenomenon.

Whether multiethnolect features are part of a broadly occurring pattern beyond Berlin cannot be decided, without establishing a feature inventory across the studies described in this subsection. The next subsection is dedicated exclusively to reaching a summary of features across the studies.

3.3.3 MORPHOSYNTACTIC FEATURES

Virtually all studies mentioned above feel compelled to present multiethnolect features *in contrast* to Standard German realizations. The reason is because multiethnolects are evaluated in light of 'standard languages' more than any other variants of European languages. I will draw an even more explicit comparison to Standard German throughout this dissertation because the English reader unfamiliar with German cannot fully appreciate the differences and unique characteristics of the multiethnolect without the juxtaposition. Due to the focus of my study in Braunschweig on the lexicon and on morphosyntax, however, my survey of linguistic features does not include the phonological, prosodic and pragmatic features which also exist for multiethnolect speech practices in Germany. The reader may be referred to Dirim & Auer (2004:207), Kern & Selting (2006), Keim (2007:232), Wiese (2012:120) and Auer (2013) for more information on features such as coronalization and specific prosodic characteristics.

The feature set of the present survey consists of: (i) non-standard inflection in case and number morphology as well as gender assignment as evident in the studies on multiethnolects of Northern Europe; 'the most salient features' that Dirim and Auer (2004:214) find in their study of the speech practices of ethnolect speakers in Hamburg, namely omissions of (ii) pronouns, (iii) articles, (iv) prepositions; a prominent feature of adult learner varieties that is said to occur rarely in multiethnolects, namely (v) non-standard verb inflection; (vi) a lack of inversion in the German front-field that has been described by Keim (2007), Wiese (2009) and others, and (vii) the occurrence of the new existential marker *es gibs* (there is) as reported in research as recent as Wiese & Duda (2012).

3.3.3.1 Inflectional Morphology and Gender Assignment

German is a language with *synthetic* morphology, meaning that a single morpheme often has more than one grammatical function. Standard German has four cases and three grammatical genders that are often merged in combination with number marking, creating a complex morphological environment for congruence between nouns and the preceding articles, possessives or adjectives. Table 3.3 below presents all possible combinations of number, case and gender for the informal second person possessive preceding a masculine, a feminine and neuter noun.

Singular:	your dog	your cat	your piece
	masculine	feminine	neuter
Nominative	dein Hund	deine Katze	dein Stück
Genitive	dein-es Hund-es	deiner Katze	deines Stück-es
Accusative	dein-en Hund	deine Katze	dein Stück
Dative	dein-em Hund(-e)	deiner Katze	deinem Stück(-e)
Plural:	your dogs	your cats	your pieces
	masculine	feminine	neuter
Nominative	dein-e Hund-e	dein-e Katze-n	dein-e Stück-e
Genitive	dein-er Hund-e	dein-er Katze-n	dein-er Stück-e
Accusative	dein-e Hund-e	dein-e Katze-n	dein-e Stück-e
Dative	dein-en Hund-en	dein-en Katze-n	dein-en Stück-en

Table 3.3: The German inflectional system.

Today, the genitive case is generally rare in spoken Standard German and regional German dialects. To illustrate how the other forms are implemented, see examples (3.7) to (3.9), below. The endings *–em* and *–en* on the possessive and the indefinite article in (3.7) mark the dative-masculine-singular and accusative-masculine-singular, respectively, of an indirect object construction. Example (3.8) shows that the markers change into *–er* for the dative-feminine-singular and no marker for accusative-neuter-singular. Finally, example (3.9) yet again carries a different marker for the possessive in the plural, while the indefinite article is deleted in the plural as in English.

(3.7)	*Sie*	*gib-t*	*dein-em*	*Hund*	*ein-en*	*saftig-en*	*Knochen.*
	3.f.s	give-3.s	2.s.POSS-DAT.m.s	dog	INDF-ACC.m.s	juicy-ACC	bone

'She gives your dog a juicy bone'.

(3.8) *Sie* *gib-t* *dein-er* *Katze* *ein* *Stück* *Fisch.*
3.f.s give-3.s 2.s.POSS-DAT.f.s cat INDF.n.s piece fish
'She gives your cat a piece of fish'.

(3.9) *Sie* *gib-t* *dein-en* *Hund-en* *saftig-e* *Knochen.*
3.f.s give-3.s 2.s.POSS -DAT.pl dog-DAT.pl juicy-ACC.pl bone
'She gives your dogs juicy bones'.

While this offers only a glimpse at the German case, gender and number marking system, it suffices to show that the system is more complex than in other Germanic languages of Central Europe.[41] Gender marking and other grammatical markers are more tightly interwoven. Hence, non-standard realization in one morphological realm can easily affect another.

As mentioned above, Dirim and Auer (2004) compare their recordings from Hamburg to recordings of a gang of Turkish youth from Frankfurt dating back to the early 1990s (Tertilt 1996) as well as to the work of Füglein (2000), in order to assess the variety status of *Türkenslang*. In all data sets, Dirim & Auer (2004:207) find variation in the assignment of gender and lack of case/number/gender congruence. But the feature is limited, and Füglein (2000) also gives marginal evidence of it. It occurs more often in the work of Tertilt (1996). This might be due to the generational difference of speakers, since Tertilt has members of G1.5 in his pool of interviewees. Educational background could also be a reason: Dirim & Auer's (2004) examples of non-standard morphological realizations of

[41] For a comprehensive Standard German reference grammar the reader is referred to *Hammer's German Grammar and Usage* (Durell 2011).

case/gender/number, as example (3.10), below, are usually produced by speakers who have a low educational background and want to distance themselves from mainstream culture.

(3.1)	***die***	***haben***	***noch***	***eine***	***raum***
	they	have	another	INDF.f	room
	dazu gekriegt…		***grosser***	***raum.***	
	get.in.addition		big.m	room	

Die haben noch einen Raum dazugekriegt… einen grossen Raum
'They received another room in addition … a large room'.
(Dirim & Auer 2004:213)

Also, it seems that ethnolect speakers with German background in Dirim & Auer's (2004) work stress certain features, such as omissions of articles and prepositions, more than others, and hardly produce features such as non-standard inflectional morphology or pronoun omission. In fact, only one speaker who exhibits variation of gender marking has a German background, but this speaker has completely assimilated to the Turkish community, speaks Turkish fluently and was practically raised by Turkish neighbors.

Kern & Selting (2006) offer several examples of *Türkendeutsch* data from which non-standard inflectional morphology and non-standard gender assignment are evident. Non-standard gender assignment occurs in examples such as (3.11), below (cf. also Kern & Selting 2006:335, example 16:106; ibid:338, example 23:03). Plural reduction is evident from examples such as *dein Eltern* instead of *deine Eltern*, meaning 'your parents' (ibid:334, example 15:37).

(3.11) ***er*** ***hat*** ***sich*** ***schon*** ***mal*** ***mir***
he AUX REFL already once me

<u>ein</u> ***backfeife*** ***und*** ***so*** ***gegeben***
a slap and so.on give.PART

er *hat* *mir* *schon* *mal* *<u>ein-e</u>* *backpfeife*
he AUX me already once a-f slap

und so *gegeben.*
and so.on give.PART

'he already gave me a slap and the like once'. (Kern & Selting 2006:323)

Like Dirim & Auer (2004), Keim (2007) reports only occasional variation of gender as in (3.12) among the Turkish Power girls.

(3.12) ***<u>rischtiges</u>*** ***tee***
real.n tea.m

richtiger tee.

'Real tea' (Keim 2007:231)

Number, gender and case irregularities were also part of Wiese's perception study presented above, and obviously are part of the variety. Examples (3.13) and (3.14) exemplify the occurrence of nonstandard gender and case in the *Kiezdeutsch Corpus*.

(3.13) ***isch*** ***bin*** ***voll*** ***das*** ***büscherwurm.***
I am EMPH the.n bookworm.m

*Ich bin voll <u>der</u> Bücherwurm****.***

'I am a real bookworm'. (Wiese et al 2012: 5)

(3.14) ***die*** ***mit*** ***<u>den</u>*** ***knutschfleck*** ***immer*** ***hier.*** ***du*** ***kennst!***
She with the.ACC hickey always here you know!

Die *mit* *dem* *Knutschfleck* *immer* *hier.* *Du* *kennst* *<u>sie</u>!*
She with the.DAT hickey always here you know her!
'The girl who always has the hickey here. You know her!' (Wiese 2012:59)

In (3.15) both gender and case marking on *meinen* are non-standard at the same time. Overall the feature also occurs very frequently in Özçelik (2005:133f.), and therefore is present in all studies conducted in Berlin.

(3.15) ***in*** ***mein-<u>en</u>*** ***alten*** ***klasse,*** ***der*** ***<u>heiß-te</u>*** ***R.***
in my-OBJ old class he call-PST R.

in *mein-er* *alten* *Klasse,* *der* *hieß* *R.*
in my-GEN.f *old* *class* *he* call.PST R.
'…in my old class, his name was R'. (Özçelik 2005:136)

3.3.3.2 Omission of Pronouns

Omissions of syntactic elements fall into three categories in the survey of data discussed in the antecedent studies: pronouns (subjects or objects), articles as well as prepositions (with a following article) may be missing. Dirim & Auer (2004) mention these features as the most prominent of all for the 'ethnolect', because in Standard German all these features are usually overt. Even in dialects and colloquial German registers, where omission of these features is possible, an omission is usually marked. Among the rare contexts in which omission is possible, are deletion of articles before proper names or in certain pragmatic contexts, or the lack of prepositions in the description of transit stops, for instance (cf. Wiese 2012:53f.). But the main reason why omissions of articles, pronouns

and prepositions have emerged as stereotypical of German multiethnolects, is the rareness of their overall occurrence in German.

Füglein (2000) as well as Tertilt (1996) give extensive evidence of pronoun omission, as in (3.16), and omission of syntactic arguments, which are usually obligatory in German. As mentioned, pronoun omission is less prevalent in Dirim & Auer (2004). We do not know whether the feature is part of Eksner's (2006) 'simplifications', but it occurs for females of Kreuzberg in the Kern & Selting (2006) equally often as omissions of articles and prepositions. In Keim's (2007) data the feature occurs occasionally, as in (3.17). Pronoun omission is not discussed in Wiese's work, but is present in her data, as in example (3.14), above.

(3.16) ***als*** ***ich*** ***kennengelernt*** ***hab.***
When I got.to.know have
Als ich ihn/sie/die kennengelernt hab.
'When I got to know him/her/them'. (Tertilt 1996, cited in D&A 2004:208)

(3.17) ***wann*** ***hast*** ***du*** ***fotografiert?***
when AUX you picture.taken
Wann hast du sie fotografiert?
'When did you take a picture of her?' (Keim 2007:231)

3.3.3.3 Article Omission

Both Füglein (2000) and Dirim & Auer (2004) confirm the extensive omission of articles. Tertilt (1996) also gives rich evidence of missing articles, as in (3.18). In Keim's

(2007) data from females in Mannheim, the feature is far less common as a comparison with Auer & Dirim (2004) shows. Auer & Dirim find 22 instances of article omission, fourteen of which are produced by speakers of German background. They consider this a high occurrence of the feature without mentioning relative to what number. By contrast, (3.19) is one of the few examples cited by Keim.

(3.18) ***wenn*** ***ich*** ***jacke*** ***abgenommen*** ***hab.***
when I jacket off.take have
wenn ich <u>die</u> Jacke abgenommen hab.
'when I have taken off my jacket' (Tertilt 1996, cited in D&A 2004:207)

(3.19) ***isch*** ***war*** ***schleschteste***
I was worst.f
Ich war <u>die</u> schlechteste.
'I was the worst'. (Keim 2007:231)

The impression arises that the ethnolect in use among female speakers of non-German backgrounds contains fewer omissions than the version used by speakers with a German background. Perhaps these speakers put an exaggerated emphasis on aspects of the ethnolect that were most salient to them in the process of accommodation to the multiethnolect, while primary speakers employ such aspects less frequently. A gender difference could also play a role. This possibility is further pursued in Chapter 7 of this dissertation.

3.3.3.4 Omission of Prepositions

Omission of directional, locative and temporal prepositions together with the articles on the noun result in so-called bare noun constructions. These reduced constructions have the same meaning expressed by directional, locative and temporal prepositions in other varieties of German. As with omission of articles, both Füglein (2000) and Dirim & Auer (2004:209f, 211f) find many missing directional prepositions as in example (3.20) below. Dirim & Auer (2004:214) consider them to be typical for the ethnolect.

(3.20) ***ich*** ***wohn*** ***ja*** ***Karl-Preis-Platz.***
I live EMPH Karl-Preis-Platz

Ich wohne ja <u>am</u> Karl-Preis-Platz.
'I live at Karl-Preis-Platz, right'. (Füglein 2000, cited in D&A 2004:208)

Again, Dirim & Auer (2004) mention that it is speakers with a German background, in particular, who use the construction with high frequency, even in the formal interview situation (ibid:217). A speaker with a high educational background is mentioned to be 'one of the strongest ethnolect speakers' (ibid:214) exhibiting these typical features.

Kern & Selting (2006) give evidence of the feature and Keim (2007) consistently observes the omission of prepositions, as in example (3.21). According to Wiese (2009:792), bare noun constructions occur only in eleven percent of all locative and directional constructions in her pilot corpus. Özçelik (2005:135) also offers examples of directional and locative bare nouns. The feature appears to be salient in all potential speaker groups. It is also one of the most stereotypical features, often quoted in public discourse.

Chapter 7 offers a more elaborate discussion of the relationship of stereotypical features to other, less salient features in my own data.

(3.21) ***isch*** ***geh*** ***nur*** ***schwimmbad***
I go only pool

weil ***des*** ***sportlisch*** ***is,*** ***lan***
because it athletic is, dude[42]

Ich geh nur ins schwimmbad weil des sportlich is, mann.
'I only go to the pool, cause it's athletic, dude'. (Keim 2007:231)

3.3.3.5 Non-Standard Verb Inflection

Verbs in all varieties of German agree with the subject in person and number by suffixation. In addition, as in English, there are many irregular verb roots that frequently pose a problem for language learners when using these verbs in a different grammatical person or tense. Do such non-standard features survive in the German of multiethnolect speakers? Generally, it appears that verb inflection in the multiethnolect is as regular as in other varieties of German. There is no evidence of lack of verb inflection in any of the works cited. There are occasional instances of inflectional overextensions, however, as in example (3.15) above from Özçelik (2005). Also, the Mannheim females use uninflected infinitives to deliberately mark *Gastarbeiterdeutsch*, when criticizing their parents or distancing themselves socially from them. Example (3.22) is extracted from a discussion between mother and daughter.

[42] *lan* is a Turkish loan with the equivalent meaning of 'dude' or 'bro' in English, or *Alter* in German.

(3.22) ***was*** ***machen?*** ***hier*** ***sitzn*** ***wohin*** ***gehen?***
what do here sit where go

Was soll ich machen? Hier sitze ich wohin soll ich gehen?
'What am I supposed to do? I'm sitting here. Where should I go?'
(Keim 2007:421)

According to Keim (2007:424ff) this example and similar ones confirm the linguistic distance between early learner varieties and the speech of the G2. At the same time, they exemplify how *Gastarbeiterdeutsch* is used in the community: it is definitely part of the speakers' repertoire, albeit for playful purposes or for dissociating oneself from the parent generation of migrant workers in acts of mockery or emphasizing boundaries.

3.3.3.6 Non-Inversion: Double or Zero Pre-field Occupancy

A way of describing Standard German word order, without relying on non-Germanic grammatical categories is with the help of Drach's (1937) field topology.[43] This system involves five positions: the *Vorfeld* 'pre-field', *Linke Klammer* 'left bracket', *Mittelfeld* 'middle field', *Rechte Klammer* 'right bracket', and the *Nachfeld* 'post-field'. The verb or the inflecting auxiliary/modal remains in the *Linke Klammer*, that is, the left bracket of a sentence. In case of the past tense, the participle of the verb moves to the *Nachfeld*, that is the posterior position of a sentence. The auxiliary verbs and the participles below are bold lettered.

[43] For a more recent discussion of German field typology, see Zifonun et al. (1997:1498-1505).

Example (3.23) shows that the front field and the left bracket necessarily require clause constituents in Standard German. More than one constituent in the front field render the sentence ungrammatical as in example (3.24). An empty front field with the subject following the verb is only typical of polar questions as in (3.25), and in oral narratives (3.26). Empty front fields as reported by Wiese (2012) for multiethnolect speakers, are not representative of Standard German (example 3.26).

(3.23) *Das Kind* ***hat*** *heute den Apfel* ***gegessen***.
the child has today the apple eaten
'The child ate the apple today'. (Haspelmath 2010:5)

(3.24) **Das Kind heute* ***hat*** *den Apfel* ***gegessen***.
the child today has the apple eaten
'The child today ate the apple'. (Haspelmath 2010:5)

(3.25) ***Ruft*** *Mutti* dich *heute an?*
calls mother you today up
'Will mom call you today?' (Haspelmath 2010:5)

(3.26) *Ich sitze am Tisch und lese.* ***Kommt*** *der Michael rein!*
I sit at.the table and read comes the M. in
'I sit at the table reading, when Michael comes in!'

(3.27) ****Guckst*** *du 'n bisschen traurig.*
Look you a bit sad
'You are looking a bit sad'. (Wiese et al. 2012:84)

Wiese (2012) lists non-inversion as in example (3.26) as a feature of *Kiezdeutsch*. The feature is evidenced for the Germanic multiethnolects in other European countries as well. In a subset of the *Kiezdeutsch Corpus*, Wiese and her team also found 55 instances of Adv-S-V-O (Wiese et al. 2012:18f). The researchers assume that double pre-field occupancy

occurs with certain words in particular. For instance, *danach* 'afterwards' occurs in this position eighteen times. It is not clear from the study whether these numbers are high relative to all utterances. It appears, however, that they are rather rare occurrences in the overall picture.

Neither Füglein (2000), nor Dirim & Auer (2004:213) mention the verb in third position, following a doubly occupied pre-field as a feature. Example (3.28) documents its presence in Tertilt (1996). The corpus excerpts presented in Kern & Selting (2006) do not include an occurrence of the feature. Keim (2007) reports inversion where no inversion is required, as in (3.29), but offers no examples of non-inversion.

(3.28) ***jetzt*** ***ich*** ***bin*** ***18.***
now I am 18

Jetzt bin ich 18.
'Now I am 18'. (Tertilt 1996, cited in D&A 2004:208)

(3.29) ***hauptsache*** ***lieb*** ***isch*** ***ihn***.
main.thing love I him

Hauptsache ich lieb ihn.
'The most important thing is that I love him'. (Keim 2007:231)

The verb in first position is not systematically documented in any study prior to Wiese (2009), whose pilot corpus contains 18% declarative clauses with verb first position (800). V1 therefore is a rather frequent feature of *Kiezdeutsch*. Özçelik (2005) contains the earliest documentation of both types of non-inversion: examples (3.30) and (3.31) from kiezdeutsch.de illustrate the V1 and V3 outcomes of non-inversion.

(3.30) ***geh ich schwimmen mit freunde.***
go I swim with friends

Ich gehe mit freunden schwimmen.
'I go swimming with friends'. (Özçelik 2005: 132)

(3.31) ***danach wir haben uns mit denen nich verstanden.***
afterwards we have us with them not understood

danach haben wir uns mit denen nich verstanden.
'After that we did not get along with them'. (Özçelik 2005:143)

3.3.3.7 Existential marker *es gibs*

Finally, the existential in Standard German is often expressed by the phrase *es gibt* 'there is', literally 'it gives'. When the front field is occupied, the order inverts to *gibt es,* literally 'gives it', which may again be contracted to *gibt's*. According to Wiese (2009, 2012) and Wiese & Duda (2012), the existential construction is no longer decomposed in the multiethnolect in certain instances.[44] Instead, a single phonological form *gibs* is often used as the existential predicate leaving the subject position unoccupied, as in (3.32) below.

(3.32) ***guck ma was hier alles noch gibs.***
Look PART what here all yet EXIST

Guck ma was es hier alles noch gibt.
'Look what else there is here'. (Wiese & Duda 2012:45)

Wiese & Duda (2012:48) believe language contact with Turkish could be supporting a construction in which *es gibt* is realized as *gibs* or *es gibs*, because the Turkish existential

[44] The authors do not mention how frequent the phenomenon is. However, it occurs often enough to be perceived as part of the alleged variety labeled *Kiezdeutsch*.

var requires only a subject, and not an object as in Standard German. *Kiezdeutsch* likewise shows occasional instantiations of the clausal object as a nominative marked subject. However, so far, Wiese & Duda are the only authors to address the emergence of this new existential construction. It is not discussed in any of the studies mentioned above.

3.5 SURVEY SUMMARY

3.5.1 Social and Demographic Characteristics

Table 3.4, below, summarizes the social and demographic characteristics of the studies I surveyed. All are based on data from German-born adolescents of immigrant backgrounds in urban environments. A majority of the speakers are sons and daughters of Turkish guest workers who know Turkish either as a second language from the street or neighborhood (20+ speakers) or as a native language (48+ speakers). The majority of studies (Füglein 2000, Dirim & Auer 2004, Eksner 2006, Kern & Selting 2006, Keim 2007) associate the speech practices with the Turkish community and emphasize the function of the variety or style in identity construction of the G2. However, around 10 other migrant backgrounds and languages are also represented throughout the studies. All speakers with migrant background speak a second language outside of school. The repertoires of all multilingual speakers appear to be more complex than those of their parents. Knowing several registers of German and code-switching between the heritage language and German is the norm.

Ethnic Germans and their speech practices are mentioned in almost every study, but they constitute a minority overall. Only six anchor speakers from the *Kiezdeutsch Corpus*

can count as German monolinguals. To assume that ethnic Germans are part of the multiethnolect speaker stock appears problematic to some authors (Füglein 2000, Eksner 2006, Keim 2007) and unproblematic to others (Dirim & Auer 2004, Wiese 2012). Those who see problems with this assumption point to a certain degree of animosity towards German youth among the multiethnolect speakers. These tensions may be based on migrant experiences of rejection, exclusion and differentiation (cf. Keim 2007 and Özçelik 2005).

Two problems arise with regard to all studies: first, and most obvious, the dominance of Turkish speakers in all studies skews the perception of the origin and speech community of the multiethnolect. All studies but Wiese (2009, 2012) set out with the assumption that the phenomenon has Turkish roots. Other ethnicities and language backgrounds almost seem like the garnish of an overall Turkish dish. And even Wiese does not uncover the extent to which her hypothesis holds beyond a community dominated linguistically by speakers of Turkish. The strong group of Eastern Europeans who resettled in Germany after 1990 is completely underrepresented in all studies; from the literature we cannot tell whether they participate in these speech practices, although it is clear that they live side by side with other ethnicities in many cities of Germany such as in Braunschweig, the site of my own study. The second immanent problem is that the studies do not properly represent the school types that are most often attended by students of migrant descent. Given that in some areas over 50% of students with migrant descent attend the two lowest school tracks, the *Hauptschule* and *Sonderschule* are heavily underrepresented in all studies. Only Keim (2007) mentions that the multiethnolect is used very naturally in this environment, and is

an unmarked register there. An in depth study of multiethnolects would therefore best elicit data from speakers before the separation into different school tracks takes place. Table 3.4 summarizes these findings.

	Kanak Sprak **(Ethno-sociolectal Variety)**	***Türkenslang*** **(Ethnolect)**		***Türkendeutsch*** **(Ethnic Style)**	***Ghettodeutsch*** **(Ethnolect)**	***Kiezdeutsch*** **(Multiethnolect)**
References and study type:	Füglein 2000	Tertilt 1996, directly consulted	Dirim & Auer 2004	Kern & Selting 2006	Keim 2007	Wiese 2009, Freywald et al. 2011 kiezdeutsch.de (Özçelik 2005, Wiese et al 2012)
Number, gender (m,f), age (y) of speakers (inf):	Around 40 (52), majority m, 11y -21y (50)	ethnographic recordings from 10 male speakers, around 13-18y	25 anchor speakers	12 f, 16-22y	20 f, 15-18y (27)	23 anchor speakers (Wiese et al. 2012) 19 speakers (Özçelik 2005)
City:	Munich, Böblingen, Nürnberg, Urbach (53f)	Frankfurt	Hamburg	Berlin	Mannheim	Berlin
Language backgrounds:	Turkish and others (Albanian, Bosnian, Italian, Rumanian etc.) (50)	Turkish and few others (Yugoslavian, Italian)	Arab (6) Serbocroatian (2), Russian (1), monolingual German (9), Kreol (1), Bulgarian (1), Greek (1), Farsi (2), Aseri (1), Polish (1)	German, Turkish (Yugoslavian)	German, Turkish	*Kiezdeutsch Corpus:* Turkish (8), Kurdish (3), Arabic (2), monolingual German (4)
Generation:	G1.5, G2	G2 (G1.5)	G2	G2	G2	G2
Language contact profile:	All Turkish participants bilingual, none of the groups recorded are homogeneous, recordings include other ethnicities and ethnic Germans.	Study is ethnographic, not linguistic. All speakers bilingual, parents speak little German (13)	Besides German and home languages, Turkish is used in many environments.	Extensive code-switching. All participants have a Turkish background and are from Kreuzberg, Berlin.	Extremely complex repertoire: code-switching, ethnolect, colloquial Turkish, Standard German, Mannheim dialect, *Gastarbeiterdeutsch*	10% of *Kiezdeutsch Corpus* languages other than German (Wiese et al. 2012:11) absolute majority of peers with immigration background (ibid:7)
Housing:	Multiethnic neighborhood of Neu-Perlach (Munich), Südstadt (Nürnberg). Interviewees from smaller towns live in family networks.	Neighborhood of Bornheim, Frankfurt a. Main	Multiethnic neighborhoods (Altona, Dulsberg, Wilhelmsburg, Mümmelmannsberg)	Multiethnic neighborhoods of Berlin	Multiethnic neighborhood (Jungbusch: 65% immigration background, Westliche Unterstadt 45%; Keim 2007: 35)	Multiethnic neighborhoods (Kreuzberg, Neukölln, Moabit)
Education:	All *Hauptschule*, few on higher educational tracks. (50f.)	1/3 Hauptschule, 1/3 Realschule, 1/3 Gymnasium (26)	9 *Gymnasium*, 3 *Realschule*, 13 Hauptschule	Students currently in vocational training	*Gymnasium, Hauptschule* (numbers not precise)	Predominantly Realschule

Table 3.4: Social & demographic characteristics

3.5.2 Linguistic features

Moving on to the linguistic features, all features reported for the German of speakers in G2 have in common that speakers employ them in variation with more standard-like realizations. The most consistently reported features are the omission of prepositions and articles. This does not mean they are most frequent in the data – it simply means they are most salient, as Dirim & Auer (2004) put it. Unsurprisingly, these features have become stereotypical indicators of multiethnolects in Germany, although they are not reported as prominent features of other multiethnolects of Europe. Features that occur across the studies but are emphasized to varying degrees are non-standard case/gender/number inflection and pronoun omission. Non-inversion seems to be the least frequent of the features. The linguistic feature for which there is the least evidence is non-standard verb inflection. Table 3.5 summarizes these findings. When a feature was 'confirmed' it means that the authors explicitly mention the feature as typical of what they are describing or that it is repeatedly evident from the examples. If a feature occurs 'occassionally', it means that the authors description or the scarcity of examples suggest the occurrence is less frequent. A feature is 'rare' if it occurs only once or is described as rare. A feature is 'not confirmed' if it is either not evident from the description or examples, or if it is explicitly mentioned as not present in the data.

After surveying the field of multiethnolect studies in Europe, and in Germany in particular, I proceed to discuss three assumptions that most of the multiethnolect studies currently share, and that can be obstacles to a better understanding of the multiethnolect phenomenon.

	Kanak Sprak **(Ethno-sociolectal Variety)**	***Türkenslang*** **(Ethnolect)**		***Türkendeutsch*** **(Ethnic Style)**	***Ghettodeutsch*** **(Ethnolect)**	***Kiezdeutsch*** **(Multiethnolect)**
References:	Füglein 2000	Tertilt 1996, in Dirim & Auer 2004	Dirim & Auer 2004	Kern & Selting 2006	Keim 2007	Wiese 2009, Freywald et al. 2011, kiezdeutsch.de with data from Özçelik 2005, Wiese et al. 2012
Case/gender/number variability	Occasionally	Confirmed (208)	Occasionally (213)	Confirmed (e.g. 323, 15:37)	Occasionally (232)	Confirmed
Omission of pronouns	Confirmed (81, 85)	Confirmed (208)	Occasionally (212)	Confirmed (335,16:104; 337, 20:04)	Occasionally (232)	Occasionally
Article omission	Confirmed (68, 86)	Confirmed (207)	Confirmed (209)	Confirmed (324, 3:549)	Occasionally (232)	Confirmed
Omission of prepositions	Confirmed (68, 86)	Confirmed (208)	Confirmed (211)	Confirmed (334, 14:60)	Confirmed (231, 233f.)	Confirmed: 11% of locatives/directional are bare nouns (Wiese 2009: 792)
Non-standard verb inflection	Not confirmed	Not confirmed	Not confirmed	Not confirmed	Not confirmed	Not confirmed Rare (Özçelik 2005:136)
Loose front field	Confirmed (86)	Occasionally (208)	Not confirmed	Not confirmed	Occasionally (232)	Confirmed (Wiese et al. 2012: 17f.) 18% of declaratives are V1 (Wiese 2009:800)
Existential *'es gibs'*	Not confirmed	-	-	Not confirmed	Not confirmed	Confirmed (Wiese & Duda 2012)

Table 3.5: Morphosyntactic features

3.6 Discussion

There are three main assumptions that stand in the way of understanding the origins of multiethnolects more holistically: first, the vast majority of researchers holds that the primary speakers of 'ethnolects', 'ethnic styles of speaking' or 'multiethnolects' are adolescents; second, there is the preconception that a transmission of the relevant features from parents to children is not or only marginally taking place, and, hence, that the features are evidence of a youth language; and third, many voice the assumption that bilingual speakers are not 'native speakers' of the variety: they either speak the parents' native language at home as children or they speak some other variety of German at home, but the multiethnolect (or an altered version of it) is never assumed to be the home language of speakers. Logically speaking, these assumptions reinforce each other: if native-like acquisition is not possible, transmission is to be excluded. If the variety is indeed a youth language, transmission and nativeness are not an option. My main contention throughout this dissertation is that these assumptions are altogether questionable. They are not well-backed by empirical evidence, and the arguments put forth in their defense are logically fallible.

3.6.1 The Claim of Non-Transmission

Except for Füglein (2000), who has an ambiguous explanation for the 'socioethnic variety', all studies either treat the features documented as deliberate style choices of adolescents (Eksner 2006, Kern & Selting 2006) or they treat the phenomenon as a variety

with prominence in youth (Dirim & Auer 2004, Keim 2012, Wiese 2012). Although the view of multiethnolects as a type of youth language is the most prominent assumption out of the three mentioned above, the idea of non-transmission actually lies at the logical heart of the matter: if transmission between parents and their children is taking place, the notion of a youth language becomes problematic. Consequently, almost all authors voice reservations against an explanation of feature origin in parental learner varieties. In its most extreme version, the hypothesis of a disconnection between the parents' German and their children's German is formulated by Wiese (2012):

> One doesn't speak *Kiezdeutsch*, because one's grandparents immigrated [to Germany] from Turkey at some point. One speaks *Kiezdeutsch* with friends, if one is growing up in a multiethnic neighborhood, completely regardless of whether one's family comes from Turkey, Germany or another country. (Wiese 2012:14)[45]

In Wiese's view, a relationship between linguistic practices in the family and adolescent speech practices in the multiethnolect is *a priori* irrelevant. It does not seem necessary to understand such a relationship to explain the origin of features in the emergent 'new dialect' of *Kiezdeutsch*. Wiese and her research team repeatedly emphasize that they will not commit 'to a distinction of primary and secondary users', meaning that speakers of migrant descent, be they Turkish or of another background, are considered part of the multiethnolect speaker stock along with monolingual German speakers regardless of the

[45] Kiezdeutsch spricht man nicht, weil die eigenen Großeltern irgendwann einmal aus der Türkei eingewandert sind, sondern Kiezdeutsch spricht man mit seinen Freunden, wenn man in einem multiethnischen Viertel groß wird, ganz unabhängig davon, ob die Familie aus der Türkei, aus Deutschland oder aus einem anderen Land stammt.

specific heritage language environment of speakers (Wiese et al. 2009:35, Freywald et al. 2011:10).

In contrast, because Dirim & Auer (2004), as well as Keim (2012) speak of an ethnolect, and see it rooted in the Turkish community, they do not claim that all speakers of the variety share the speech practices to the same degree. However, they offer a brief argument to the effect of excluding the possibility feature transmission from parents to children in immigrant neighborhoods. This argument of non-transmission begins with Dirim & Auer's (2004:214) observation that '[a]ll grammatical features of the ethnolect also appear in *Gastarbeiterdeutsch*', a fact evidenced by the continuation of my survey in the next chapter. At the same time, Dirim & Auer (ibid:215) argue that speaking of these shared features in the ethnolect as 'remnants of fossilized learner varieties of the first guest worker generation is hardly tenable' because speakers 'know the 'correct' German rules' and there is 'enormous variability' in their speech practices. The structure of this rather opaque argument is shown below in Table 3.6.

To lend the argument a logical interpretation I added tacit assumption (iv). The tacit assumption seems to be that speaking variety C and acquiring a feature set from variety A are somehow mutually exclusive. In less abstract terms, this means that being able to speak a more standard version of German makes it less likely for the features in ethnolects to have their origin in parental learner varieties. If this line of thought does not appear counterintuitive in the situation of language shift, it certainly creates strange conclusions if applied to other circumstances of feature transmission.

Premises:

i. Parents speak a variety A which contains features 1, 2, 3.

ii. Their children speak a variety B which contains features 1, 2, 3.

iii. The speakers of variety B also speak variety C which contains features 4, 5, 6.

Tacit Assumption:

iv. Speaking variety C and having acquired features 1, 2, 3 from variety A are mutually exclusive.

Conclusion:

v. Therefore, speakers of variety B did not acquire their features from speakers of variety A.

Table 3.6: Structure of the non-transmission argument.

For instance, take the example of a generation of villagers who speak a dialect but are not able to speak the standard language. Since two decades, their children are learning the standard language in school, and, as a side effect, are now beginning to speak a more standardized variety with each other, even in casual contexts. According to the structure of the argument above, the children could not have acquired the dialectal features in their casual speech from the parents, because speaking the standard language and acquiring dialectal features are somehow mutually exclusive. If this sounds unlikely, it would seem the more so, if children knew how to speak their parent's dialect. Work on diglossia since Ferguson (1959) actually shows that a command of multiple registers in dialect communities is rather the norm that the exception.

But Dirim & Auer (2004) take evidence for a command of the parental variety as evidence *against* feature transmission. They bolster their argument with observations from Keim (2007) who reports situations in which her speakers imitate the learner variety of their parents, as shown in example (3.22), above. Dirim & Auer (2004:217) argue that the use of *Gastarbeiterdeutsch* in mocking the parents represents 'a foreign voice' with a specific social meaning, namely the meaning of criticism. While such usage is possible, Füglein (2000:136) believes that *Gastarbeiterdeutsch* has a broader application in the community and its use by younger speakers is not limited to criticism. Similarly, Evers (forthcoming) argues that the use of an 'immigrant' voice among French youth of migrant descent can have multiple, even affectionate connotations. Being able to speak like the parent generation and exhibiting similar features in one's own casual speech would rather point to a relationship between these ways of speaking than to a mutually exclusive origin.

Keim (2012) follows a similar line of thought as Dirim & Auer (2004):

> The explanation that ethnolectal features could be language acquisition phenomena is too narrow. Indeed, some features are present in the fossilized German of the parent generation […], and the simplifications observed in the ethnolect agree with the strategies described in language acquisition processes. However, the fact that speakers can switch between ethnolectal and colloquial structures, meaning that they know the grammatical rules of German, speaks against an explanation through language acquisition. (Keim 2012:126)[46]

In addition to being indicative of non-transmission, speaking Standard German is now taken to be a sign against being a second language learner *per se*. Otherwise, the structure

[46] [D]ie Erklärung, dass es sich bei ethnolektalen Merkmalen um lernersprachliche Phänomene handeln könnte, greift zu kurz. Einige Merkmale kommen zwar auch im fossilisierten Deutsch der Elterngeneration vor [...], und die im Ethnolekt sichtbaren Vereinfachungen stimmen mit den in Spracherwerbsprozessen beschriebenen Strategien überein. Doch gegen eine lernersprachliche Erklärung spricht die Tatsache, dass Sprecher zwischen ethnolektalen und umgangsprachlichen Strukturen wechseln können, dass sie also die grammatikalischen Regeln des Deutschen kennen.

of the argument is roughly the same as in Dirim & Auer (2004) and the logical problem remains: there is no reason why speaking Standard German should determine the origin of features in the ethnolect.

The same theme is found in the work of Kern & Selting (2006:320), who emphasize that features of *Türkendeutsch* are themselves clearly not 'a fossilized stage of second language acquisition'. Like Dirim & Auer (2004) and Keim (2012), they mention the variable repertoire of the speakers in favor of their view. Because the authors see a need to distance the 'ethnic style' of *Türkendeutsch* from parental learner varieties, some very obvious connections go without a possible explanation:

> According to Klein/Perdue (1992; 1997) [it is characteristic of] 'basic learner varieties' that they often order elements of sentences following the pragmatic principle of 'focus expression last' […]. Even though *Türkendeutsch* is very obviously not a 'basic learner variety', but a style that is locally employed for functional purposes of organizing conversation, the findings from the data point to the relevance of the principle of 'focus expression last' in *Türkendeutsch*. (Kern & Selting 2006:341f)[47]

In this passage, the possibility that children picked up 'focus expression last' from a basic learner variety rather than being second language learners themselves goes unmentioned.

Rhetorical distancing leads to even more severe problems in Eksner (2006:99-100). While she acknowledges that, in principle, adolescents could be 'picking up on common xenolect varieties[48] that they may know from their parents' as they introduce certain

[47] [N]ach Klein/Perdue (1992; 1997) [zeichnen sich] ‚basic learner varieties' dadurch aus, dass in ihnen Elemente von Sätzen häufig nach dem pragmatischen Prinzip des ‚focus expression last' geordnet werden [...] Auch wenn es sich beim Türkendeutschen ganz offensichtlich um keine ‚basic learner variety' handelt, sondern um einen Stil, der lokal zu funktionalen Zwecken der Gesprächsorganisation eingesetzt wird, so deuten die Befunde aus den Daten doch darauf hin, dass das Prinzip des ‚focus expression last' im Türkendeutschen von Relevanz ist.

[48] Eksner (2006) uses the term 'xenolect' instead of 'learner variety'.

simplifications to their German, she defines xenolects as 'different from interlanguage varieties in that the majority of the dialect is in fact consonant with the native variety, or, in other words, there is no significant linguistic restructuring'. It appears that Eksner is saying that the parents of her participants speak a slightly non-standard version of German, rather than an 'interlanguage variety'. Early studies of learner varieties of guest workers give witness, though, that learner varieties are very distinct from such a description and that 'significant linguistic restructuring' indeed took place at the time (cf. HPD 1975, Clahsen et al. 1983, Keim 1978). The next chapter will elaborate on these reports. Of course, the parents' German could be more similar to the target language several decades after their arrival. But Eksner (2006:99) does not provide any evidence for this development, and instead emphasizes that 'Stylized Turkish German stands independently from the parents' immigrant language', excluding the possibility of any substratum effects from speakers' heritage language. In light of her analysis of Stylized Turkish German as a mirror register of 'tough talk' in Turkish, this statement seems almost contradictory.

The discussion shows that there is a strong drive in research in Germany to represent the multiethnolect phenomena as independent from unguided learner varieties of German. The arguments used to make this point painstakingly avoid the possibility of feature transmission from parents or older siblings to the second generation but do not fare well, logically speaking. The following two assumptions, namely, that the multiethnolect is confined to adolescents and that the variety or style in question was not the speakers' first-acquired version of German, both feed into this argument.

3.6.2 A YOUTH LANGUAGE?

To the critical reader, it appears that the view of multiethnolects as a youth language emerged over time. Kostinas (1988), the first study on so-called multiethnolects, explicitly refers to school children in her description of linguistic developments in multi-ethnic neighborhoods of Sweden. In Germany, Füglein (2000) makes a similar reference, since she does not confine her discussion of Kanak Sprak to the youth language aspect. In her speaker pool the youngest interviewees are 11 years of age – a fact which later studies referencing Füglein simply ignore, just as the debate in Sweden shifts focus and concentrates on adolescents over the years.

With regard to *Türkenslang*, Auer (2003:225) propagates the view that the 'sustainers of this development are neither children nor (older) adults, but different environments of predominantly male adolescents (between 12 and 25)'. Children are likewise ignored by Eksner (2006) and Kern & Selting (2006) both of which see Stylized Turkish German or *Türkendeutsch* as a deliberate style choice among Turkish youth. In line with other European research on 'multiethnolects', Wiese (2012:12f.) states that *Kiezdeutsch* 'is a German language use that has developed among adolescents in areas such as Berlin-Kreuzberg', and refers to the variety as a 'youth language that developed in Germany' (ibid:16). Following Quist (2008) she distinguishes between stylized and non-stylized versions of the 'multiethnolect' applying the term *Kiezdeutsch* specifically to the nonstylized versions that may result in a new dialect. At the same time, she excludes children not only from occasional stylizations that seem typical for adolescents, but from

the variety in general – not an interpretation in favor of the incipient dialect development she otherwise argues for. Surprisingly, some members of her research team even speak of a youth language that may very well vanish as soon as speakers reach adulthood.[49] Without longitudinal study data such statements amount to speculation.

Also, none of the studies mentioned systematically explores the possibility of the presence of ethnolect or multiethnolect features in child language. Rather, several of the authors tacitly point to the questionability of their own 'youth language' claim. First, Wiese & Duda (2012) offer examples of child language influenced by the features in question with data on the new existential *'es gibs'*. The report is merely exploratory, but offers a lead. Second, and rather surprisingly, Keim (2012:126) offers findings of ethnolect usage among children only a page after making her argument for non-transmission. Some of her examples portray young Turkish boys in first grade emulating their 'medial role models' in deliberate acts of identity (ibid:127). Other examples of the features leave open their origin. Below, in example (3.33), Özlem and her teacher are negotiating the student's leave to the bathroom as follows:

(3.33)	Özlem*:*	***ah****	***isch***	***muss***	***toilette***	
		uhm*	1s	have.to	bathroom	
		'Uhm… I have to go to the bathroom'.				
	Teacher*:*	*wir*	*sind*	*doch*	*fertig*	*Özlem*
		1p	AUX	PART	done	Özlem
		'We are done Özlem'.				

[49] cf. Kerstin Paul's statement on XEN.ON TV (last retrieved January 13th 2014): http://youtu.be/DL4XS4FOw_s?t=5m5s

Teacher*:*	*du*	*kannst*	*auf*	*die*	*Toilette*	*gehen*
	2s	can.2s	on	DET	bathroom	go.INF

'You can go to the bathroom'.

Özlem*:*	*kommst*	*du*	*mit*	*mir*
	come.2s	2s	with	bathroom

'Are you coming with me?'

Özlem*:*	*auf*	*die*	*toilette*
	on	DET	bathroom

'To the bathroom!'

(adapted to the format of this dissertation from Keim 2012:128, emphasis mine)

The omission of a directional preposition in Özlem's first utterance is echoed by the teacher with a Standard German form. Özlem consequentially 'corrects' herself as she repeats the question to a friend. The case in point is that the girl uses the ethnolectal feature in the first instance, and is then corrected towards the more standard form. Keim interprets the variability of forms as follows:

> In the formulations of the first graders many conspicuous features can be seen as systematic stages along the way to the second language, and the alternations between target language forms and other forms can be seen as an indication that the structure is not yet securely acquired. (Keim 2012:128) [50]

The contradiction between this statement and Keim's earlier view that the same variability speaks 'against an explanation through language acquisition' is striking (cf.

[50] Bei den Formulierungen der Erstklässler können viele Auffälligkeiten als systematische Zwischenstadien auf dem Weg zur Zweitsprache betrachtet warden, und das Alternieren zwischen zielsprachlichen und anderen Formen kann als Indiz dafür gesehen werden, dass die Struktur noch nicht sicher erworben ist.

Keim 2012:126, as discussed above). Keim's observations favor the view that multiethnolect features are not a mere youth phenomenon. Yet, she gives two opposite interpretations of variability: in her first interpretation, discussed above, variability speaks against transmission of the features from learner varieties to the ethnolect. In her second interpretation, variability can be interpreted to precisely support the contrary view, namely that the ethnolect features have their origin in a learner variety.

How does this contradiction come about? It appears that the main motivation behind both arguments is to create distance between parental learner varieties and the language of the second generation. There are two ways in which such distance can be created: the first way is to deny a connection in spite of similar features. This is what Dirim & Auer (2004), Eksner (2006) and Kern & Selting (2006) do. If the features are acquired in a deliberate act of identity in adolescence, and children do not speak this way, the argument holds. Since Keim has data showing the contrary, she turns to another way of creating distance in a matter of only a single page: she insinuates that certain children do not speak German at home in the first place. Suddenly, the ethnolect features in child language are remnants of second language acquisition. As the next subsection will show, other authors also follow this way of reasoning, leading them to the conclusion that German plays a minor role in immigrant families in Germany.

3.6.3 The Notion of Non-Nativeness

Knowing or not knowing normative rules or colloquial structures is logically irrelevant to the origin of non-standard forms, as I have shown. Obvious problems occur if children

exhibit features that are claimed to be distinctive characteristics of a youth language. As a consequence, one has to assume that German is a second-acquired language for many speakers. Often this notion is tacit, sometimes it is reported briefly as a matter of fact, as in Füglein (2000) or Keim (2012). No author offers systematic background data of speakers' linguistic habits at home to support this view. However, contrary to the overall narrative, several studies report that the adolescents think German is their dominant language (cf. Füglein 2000, Özçelik 2005). But even such speaker statements do not counteract the persevering myth of non-nativeness.

The problem is not new: Queen (1996) voiced concerns over the persistent ignorance of the field of German sociolinguistics towards the possibility of the development of a native variety of German marked by language contact. Even Wiese (2012) excludes this possibility, thereby hurting her overall argument of new dialect formation. As described above, Wiese describes her speaker stock as variable: some speak their parents' or grandparents' immigrant language at home, others speak a non-native variety of German, yet again others speak German at home (Wiese 2012:36, 44, 115). Wiese does not exclude the possibility of influences from these sources, but also does not provide data quantifying the speech habits of speakers in their home environment. She keeps these unknown registers separate from the multiethnolect at any cost, and operates on a notion of non-nativeness affirming that 'Kiezdeutsch is not acquired as a first language' (2009:803, footnote 30).

A simple alternative to non-nativeness would be nativeness: The multiethnolect is based on a native (i.e. first-acquired) way of speaking German in immigrant neighborhoods. Given the high variability in speakers' backgrounds, this is a strong claim. Less controversially one might say that transmission takes place, but that the input is dynamically reshaped over generations. This possibility is worth investigating, since not a single study considers the features listed above as first-acquired. They may be stylized under certain circumstances but could be likewise part of the default vernacular of speakers. Some researchers already lament the lack of consideration given to the acquisition process. In Berlin, Dittmar (2013), one of the linguists involved in the first phase of research on *Gastarbeiterdeutsch*, sees simultaneous input at work 'from *Gastarbeiterdeutsch* (parents, relatives, friends), the Berlin dialect with little influence from literacy, hybrid language usage in multilingual peer groups, academic German in school'. He coins the term *Sprachdusche*, the 'hybrid language shower' that speakers are exposed to and that leads to 'the ethnically influenced diversity of speech styles' (ibid:5). However, while criticizing the argument of non-transmission, Dittmar clings to the terminology of L2 acquisition, again entailing a notion of non-nativeness. A more neutral way of describing the situation would be to refrain from any categorization of the lect as first or second acquired, and to model the possible paths leading to the linguistic outcome in question. In principle, Dittmar's *Sprachdusche* could be a reasonable explanation for variable output in first language acquisition as well, that is, children could acquire their first language through multiple influences, adhering to more than one input source. And

there are actually examples from other contexts of migration, in which multiple input leads to variable output in a *first-acquired* vernacular. Chapter 5 of this dissertation discusses Dittmar's model in more detail and shows how the concept of koinéization (Trudgill 2004) may contribute to a better understanding of multiethnolects.

3.7 Summary and Outlook

This chapter summarized research on 'multiethnolects' in Europe, in general, and Germany, in particular, where the term was introduced only recently. Some researchers claim multiethnolects are youth styles – transient, intentionally employed and with social meaning in speaker's repertoire that is limited to certain peer-to-peer interactions. Others see them as a variety, or even a breeding ground for new dialects. All over Europe the speech practices include speakers from the G2 of immigrant families and from the majority ethnic group. In Germany, a particular problem is the apparent dominance of Turkish speakers. Most authors use terms that refer to Turkish ethnicity, while Wiese (2009, 2012) seems more aware of the other minorities involved and prefers more inclusive terminology. My literature survey showed that most studies dealing with multiethnolects overrepresent Turkish speakers in their pool of participants. In light of a number of features that all the studies refer to, the different naming practices presumably reflect the authors' diverging preferences in locating the origin of the practices.

With Füglein (2000) being an exception, those claiming that the speech practices are a style of German and those claiming it is a variety both avoid connecting the features of speakers to learner varieties of parents' and older siblings. Different strategies are used to achieve distance: some argue for non-transmission based on the speakers' repertoire. As I showed, this argument is logically not sound. Others label the multiethnolect as a youth language while ignoring evidence to the contrary. Finally, some authors categorize children as second language learners, or non-native speakers of the multiethnolect. Yet, background data in support of these claims is missing.

An atmosphere of taboos surrounding the topic of integration in Germany may be supporting these assumptions: if children inherit features from their parents, they may be viewed as less integrated into a country that based much of its identity on Standard German as a common linguistic denominator. Indeed, Wiese (2012:234f) is frank about her motivations, when she states that she believes that ethnic categories must be overcome in German society. However, immigration and ethnicity are by no means equally important for language change: while ethnicity may play a minor role in language change (cf. Labov 2001), immigration is a momentous event for a community of speakers that frequently leaves traces in language. Chapter 1 showed that Germany's recent history of immigration is fraught with many difficulties at the local and national level that could be reflected in the way German is spoken in certain neighborhoods, today. In short, multiethnolect speech practices could very well be based on non-standard features of German that were acquired

by infants and toddlers, and are now the default resource with which certain children work their way through life in their neighborhood environment.

The next chapter goes back in time and provides an overview of the social and linguistic characteristics of G1 and of G1.5ers in immigrant families in Germany, roughly from 1970 to 1990. If it turns out that there is a continuous presence of all morphosyntactic features discussed in the multiethnolect literature, the case for transmission is strengthened. If children in the past exhibited the same features as adolescents today, the definition as a youth language becomes questionable. And finally, if earlier studies show that German was used in immigrant homes as early as between 1970 and 1990, non-nativeness is a highly problematic assumption since language shift is a process that is almost never reversed in minority immigrant communities. In that case, one should assume that German is now the dominant language in immigrant homes.

4. BRIDGING A GAP

4.1 The 'Nap' of the Nineties

The previous chapters took the reader on a brief tour through the post-war history of immigration to Germany (Chapter 2) and reviewed research on so-called multiethnolects in Europe and Germany in particular (Chapter 3). With the social context and limitations of current research in mind, this chapter addresses the problem that the coherent sociohistorical account of immigration to the West German *Bundesrepublik* is not matched by an equally coherent account of the linguistic developments in immigrant communities. There is a perceivable lapse between today's studies and earlier studies conducted between 1970 and 1990. Current discussions often make little reference to the earlier work in German sociolinguistics concerned with language change and immigration.

Some researchers of multiethnolects have noticed the gap between their own endeavors and earlier research. Füglein (2000), one of the first researchers concerned with the new adolescent speech practices, makes the following observation:

> A gap emerges between the studies of the parents' guest worker German (*Gastarbeiterdeutsch*) in the 70s and early 80s and the deviating linguistic behavior of the second and third migrant generation. It can be explained with the German pragmatism of discussing - or rather 'checking off' and forgetting- the topics related to guest workers and foreigners under descriptors such as 'transient phenomenon', 'temporary solution' or 'transitional phase' (Füglein 2000:148). [51]

[51] Zwischen den Untersuchungen des Gastarbeiterdeutsch der Eltern in den 70er und frühen 80er Jahren und dem abweichenden Sprachverhalten der zweiten und dritten Migrantengeneration tut sich eine Lücke auf, die sich aus dem deutschen Pragmatismus erklären läßt, gastarbeiter- und ausländerspezifische Themen stets unter Schlagwörtern wie „vorrübergehende Erscheinung', „Übergangslösung', oder „Durchgangsstadium' zu diskutieren bzw. „abzuhaken'.

While Füglein sees political motivations at work, Dirim & Auer (2004:14) assume a correlation between the decline in interest in language contact studies after 1990 and the diminishing economic role of guest workers: '[i]t seems that along with their initial economic role as guest workers the linguistic interest in this group of speakers vanished'. Whether for political or economic reasons, the authors recognize, but do not further address the problem.

Figure 4.1 visualizes the 'research nap' of the 1990s. It is based on over 260 publications related to language and migration in Germany, taken from the bibliographies of fourteen sources distributed over the past forty-five years.[52] Between German reunification in 1990 and the year 2000, publications dwindle to fewer than six per year.

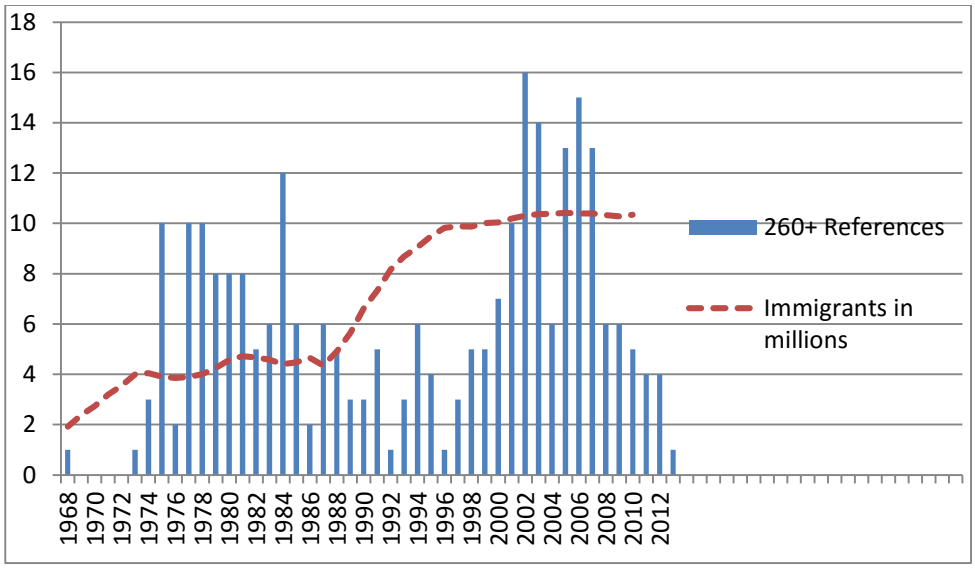

Figure 4.1: Increase in immigration plotted over number of publications.

[52] Sources: Klein (1975, 1978), Pfaff (1981a, 1981b), Blackshire-Belay (1991), Roehr-Sendlmeier (1990), Queen (1996), Fenell (1998), Dirim & Auer (2004), Keim (2007), Schroeder (2009), Appeltauer (2010), Wiese (2012), Dittmar (2013).

A noteworthy fact that goes unrecognized in multiethnolect studies, but which possibly explains the disconnection between current studies and earlier studies, is that precisely where the gap begins, around 1990, there is a sharp increase in the numbers of foreigners in Germany, reflecting an influx of resettlers and refugees, and a general diversification of immigration in Europe after the Fall of the Wall (cf. Vertovec 2007). Only recently have researchers turned their attention to the linguistic side effects of processes of layered immigration during which new immigrant populations settled in neighborhoods that were already inhabited by earlier immigrant groups (cf. Blommaert 2010). For instance, with the challenge of new immigration waves the need for communicative simplification may have actually increased rather than decreased in some neighborhoods. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the privileged status of German resettlers from Eastern Europe (e.g. their immediate right to citizenship and political participation) led to a certain animosity in some immigrant communities, especially among German-born 'foreign' youth and foreign-born 'German' youth (cf. Tertilt 1996). Whether or not this animosity had a linguistic flip side, as in acts of identity in certain neighborhoods, remains unexplored.

Thankfully, there is more to go on: between 1975 and 1990, 10 years before research on multiethnolects became *en vogue,* there were numerous studies not only on adult learner varieties, but also on bilingualism and second language acquisition among children in immigrant families. The target group of these studies was G1.5, that is, the generation of potential siblings to G2. Many '1.5ers' came of age between 1990 and 2000. This fact is of importance for a verification of possible feature transmission, because as older siblings

these speakers were often caretakers of younger generations, a circumstance also mentioned by Pfaff (1981b:167).

It is therefore necessary to expand the survey of non-linguistic factors and linguistic features into the past: studies of adult learner varieties, as well as of the bilingual development of G1.5 need to be included, to capture the full picture. The social factors are the same as in the previous chapter: the number of speakers, their age and gender, their city of residence, language background, length of stay, a brief language contact profile, the housing situation and the educational level. Linguistically speaking, the features are also the same: the morphosyntactic features non-standard inflection, subject and object pronoun omission, article omission, omission of prepositions, non-standard inflection on verbs, lack of inversion and the existential *gibs*.

The aim of the survey is to examine the greater research body for coherence, that is, to confirm or disconfirm whether the social factors and morphosyntactic features found in multiethnolects today could, by any means, have their origin in earlier developments. To maintain a manageable scope, some of the earliest studies were not included in my survey. The reader may refer to Pfaff (1981a) for a more extensive review of migration-related sociolinguistic research in Germany between 1968 and 1981.

4.2 Research on Immigrant Language Acquisition (1968-1994)

4.2.1 Social and Demographic Characteristics

4.2.1.1 *Pidgin-Deutsch*: a German 'Pidgin'

Foreign workers acquired German in an untutored learning process in an environment characterized by relative social isolation.[53] Since the expectation among Germans and foreign workers was that workers would eventually return to their home countries, as the term *Gastarbeiter* 'guest worker' implies, the interest in linguistic assimilation was limited. The attitude of dealing with a temporary situation contributed to the simplified learner varieties of German that caught the attention of pidgin and creole researchers such as Clyne in the late 1960s. He is the first to claim that 'the auxiliary language [of foreign workers] is more or less a case of a pidgin language' (Clyne 1968:139). In exploratory interviews conducted in the area of Bonn with five males and 10 females, from Turkey, Italy, Greece and Slovenia, Clyne considers the features of the alleged pidgin and the possible impact on it by foreigner talk from German supervisors. The mean duration of stay of his interviewees at the time is six years (ibid:130). He mentions that all have little schooling, but provides no further information on education, work circumstances, bilingual practices, the family language, or housing circumstances.

[53] For a discussion of the living circumstances of workers', see Herbert (2001:213f). For discussions of the link between language attitude and duration of stay, see Meisel (1975:10f) or Clahsen et al. (1983:52).

Taking a quantitative approach, the *Heidelberg Forschungsprojekt Pidgin-Deutsch* (Heidelberg Research Project on Pidgin-German, HPD) is more diligent in controlling social independent variables. Of the 48 interviewed speakers all are of Italian or Spanish origin, and all are adult immigrants in G1. The duration of stay is used as a criterion to separate four groups matching four periods of stay: up to 2 years, 2 to 4 years, 4 to 6 years and over 6 years (HPD 1977:155). In 1975, shortly after the first collection of interviews and recordings in factory settings, a subset of 3 speakers from each group (twelve total) are analyzed. Overall, the jobs and school careers of speakers reflect a lower working class background: Their average time spent in school is 6 years, and all have low-level jobs requiring manual labor. The speakers also indicate the amount of time spent with Germans at work and in their free time. About 75% report mixed contacts, while about 25% claim to have contact primarily with Germans or primarily with other foreigners. Regression analysis shows that time of arrival, age and keeping active contact with Germans during leisure correlate significantly with being an advanced learner (HPD 1978:18). The HPD abandons the term 'pidgin' only for these speakers (HPD 1977:177), and speaks of a 'Pidgin in the broader sense' (HPD 1975:35) for the rest. The project stresses the substantial segregation between foreign workers and Germans that actually leads to the documented speech practices.

4.2.1.2 *Gruppen-Interlingua*: an 'Interlanguage' among Guest Workers

The project *Zweitspracherwerb Italienischer und Spanischer Arbeiter* (Second Language Acquisition of Italian and Spanish Workers, ZISA; Clahsen et al. 1983) paints a

more optimistic picture, with regard to the social situation of guest workers (cf. Meisel 1977). Lack of a stable norm and limited evidence of convergence suggests to these researchers that untutored language acquisition was rather a special type of second language acquisition than a pidgin: learner varieties are moving towards a standard target but fossilize at different stages along the way. The term *interlanguage* was chosen to point to this heterogeneous process of language acquisition.

Like the HPD, the ZISA study focuses on L1 speakers of Romance languages: of the 45 interviewees 20 are Italian, 19 are Spanish and 6 are Portuguese. Seventeen speakers are female, 28 are male. The Italian group has only 5 females and the others are more balanced. The age structure of the sample spans the age range from fourteen to over fifty years, an unusually broad range for an adult language study. The percentage of speakers under thirty (40%) is rather high. Some interviewees had a maximum of eight years of schooling, while the youngest were still in school (Clahsen et al. 1983:66f). The housing situation is better than for the HPD participants, since only one speaker lives in worker accommodation. Similar to the HPD, a majority of the data is provided by speakers who have lived in Germany for longer than 2 years. Both the HPD and the ZISA end up showing that the first 2 years represent a decisive learning period after which other factors override the effect of 'duration of stay'.

The strong variability in the degree of reductions observed is also explainable by social contacts and the motivation to integrate: a correlation between having contact with Germans during leisure and having more Standard-like morphology and syntax is

confirmed in ZISA (ibid:299). Only workers without contacts use radical reductions with consistency. If used at all, the authors argue that the term 'pidgin' would be applicable to this group. However, ZISA researchers do not exclude the possibility that developments could lead to 'an ethnic variety with less salient features of simplification' than the transitional learner languages (Meisel 1977:201).

4.2.1.3 *Gastarbeiterdeutsch*: Studies of 'Guest Worker German'

Taking a variationist approach similar to the HPD and ZISA, Orlović-Schwarzwald (1978:23) worked with eighteen speakers of Serbo-Croatian in a feature analysis of the morphology of guest workers' German (*Gastarbeiterdeutsch*) of Yugoslavian workers in Mainz. Six of them are female and twelve of them are male. They fall into three age groups that are roughly the same size: 19-28 years of age, 30-34 years of age and 40-47 years of age. Further, there are three subsets that indicate the duration of stay: six have been in Germany for less than four years, six have lived there between four to eight years and another six more than eight years. Five of the speakers live in worker accommodations; half of them live in predominantly Yugoslavian areas of Mainz (ibid:32). Overall, the educational level of Yugoslavian workers is somewhat better than in the Spanish, Italian and Turkish groups. A majority of the Yugoslavians has gone to school for at least 4-8 years, about five of them have gone to school for over 11 years (ibid:30). Again, the duration of stay is not the most decisive predictor of feature occurrence. Instead, age of acquisition, education, and the overall contact with Germans correlate with the features

(ibid:143f), at least partially confirming the findings of HDP and ZISA about contact being crucial.

Keim (1978, 1982), by contrast, approached *Gastarbeiterdeutsch* qualitatively, and found complex interactions between different factors in linguistic interviews with three male Turkish guest workers (Keim 1978) and two female guest workers from Turkey and Greece (Keim 1982).[54] All interviews took place at the speakers' homes with family in the background. The three Turkish male workers (labeled A, B and C) have very different family histories. Speakers A and B have no strong educational background, speaker C has a diploma from Turkey. In Germany, all three of them are workers. Speakers A and B have been in Germany for nine years at the time of the interview. Their families followed later. Participant C has been in Germany for three years, and his family moved there shortly before the interview took place. Both, participants C and B have substantial problems with integration and exhibit a negative attitude towards Germans at the time. The case of speaker B seems rare: his family lives in a house with a German family they became friends with.

Keim (1978) sees a positive effect when the social factors origin, length of stay, contact with Germans, and attitude are combined: Speaker B's length of stay, his contact with Germans and his positive attitude seem to bring about the most standard-like German variety among the three learners. Speaker C's German is overall better than speaker A's, but the lack of recognition he receives stifles his motivation. Only his educational

[54] Another study by Keim (1984) was not available to me at the time of this survey.

background makes it easier to navigate the German social system. Keim believes this compensates for his short length of stay and his attitude (Keim 1978:176f).

Interestingly, Keim's transcripts reveal that the workers' children, who were not at the center of the study, speak German more fluently than their parents, although their stay has been far shorter. The parents explain this with schooling. Only the children of C have difficulties in school. Like B's children, they attend an international class and have limited contact with Germans (ibid:62). However, speaker B's two sons (9 and 10 years) speak the Mannheim dialect, which they acquired while playing with neighboring children (ibid:50f).

The two females in Keim (1982) are a Greek and a Turkish factory worker. There is little information on the social background of the Greek worker: it remains unclear what her educational background is or how long she has been in Germany. Her husband had a work accident, which is why only she works. Her co-workers come from different countries and regular contacts with Germans are not reported (ibid:123f). The Turkish female has no educational background and came to Germany under very difficult circumstances (ibid:137). She lives with her husband in a socially isolated apartment complex where the majority of inhabitants are foreigners. Her contact with Germans is limited to work where she is the only Turkish worker (ibid:139f). After 15 years of living in Germany, Keim is the first German to visit her at home. Her interviewee overall reports negative experiences with her German environment (ibid:141).

The documented problems and animosity between foreign workers and German workers possibly also had their roots in the omnipresent communication barrier between

workers of different origins. A product of this barrier is the phenomenon of German Foreigner Talk, the simplified German that local co-workers often employed in communication with foreign workers. Researchers come to very different conclusions about why Germans were actually using this register.

4.2.1.4 *Xenolekt*: the Phenomenon of 'Foreigner Talk'

Clyne (1968) already mentioned the possible influence of a foreigner talk register on the speech of foreign workers. Bodemann & Ostow (1975:141f) elaborated on this possibility. The authors use the term 'pseudo-pidgin' for the truncated speech of Germans who imitate the foreign worker's Pidgin German (which they call *Fremdarbeiterdeutsch* 'foreign worker German'). They see the exact opposite mechanism at work: in their eyes, Germans are actively imitating *Fremdarbeiterdeutsch* for an indexical reason: 'This code is used to express contempt and to express again and again the devaluation of the foreign worker' (ibid:145)[55], because similar simplifications would not be employed when speaking with foreigners of higher socioeconomic status, such as tourists and military members.

Unlike Clyne and Bodemann & Ostow, Meisel (1975) makes the point that foreigner talk (which he calls *Ausländerdeutsch* 'German for foreigners') is an autonomous and natural speech register. To him, the product of interaction is a compromise between the

[55] Dieser Code wird benutzt um Verachtung auszudrücken und die Herabsetzung des ausländischen Arbeiters immer wieder zum Ausdruck zu bringen.

foreigner-talk-register and the foreigners' ability to simplify the target language, rather than one-sided adoption on either side.

Leaving these discussions behind, Roche (1989) shows that there is strong speaker-dependent variability in foreigner talk. He calls the phenomenon *Xenolekt* and lists three broad categories of xenolectal usage: first, phonetic variants of the local dialect are approximated to Standard German as a common assumption goes that Standard German is more comprehensible to foreigners; second, there are minor reductions in relation to the language of reference (Standard German or regional German dialect); and third, there are strongly truncated forms with a complete deletion of inflection and many function words. The latter utterances are the focus of Roche's (1989) analysis.

Roche's secretly obtained foreigner talk data comes from several sources. He records the speech of anonymous German factory workers in interaction with a male Turkish guest worker (35 years), and he tapes shop keepers, post office agents, salesmen and -women, colleagues and passers-by, giving explanations to Italian guest workers, a Turkish female guest worker, a Kurdish guest worker, a Turkish student jobbing in the auto industry, and a Peruvian newspaper distributer. The foreign interlocutors range between 25 to 55 years of age and the roughly 40 Germans interacting with them are between 20 and 70 years of age. The xenolect speakers are predominantly male. All recordings took place in the Rhein-Main-Neckar region of Germany, explaining some of the dialectal influences on the data.

4.2.1.5 'Interference' from Turkish in Children's German

Family reunifications after 1974 led to an increasing number of children in immigrant neighborhoods. They became the focus of research on bilingualism and early second language acquisition in the 1980s and early 1990s. Schools were now integrating an increasing number of children from G1.5 with little or no knowledge of German and little or no prior educational background. At the same time, the ethnic make-up of the immigrant community changed: by 1980, immigrants from Turkey, Greece and Yugoslavia made up over 50 % of the foreign worker population (Herbert 2001:226).

One of the earliest papers to address the situation of the emergent generation of Turkish bilinguals is Meyer-Ingwersen et al.'s (1977) work. The project in Essen answered a pressing call of the time: children acquired German in a different environment than their parents, and for Turkish students, in particular, interference effects seemed likely, because Turkish is typologically more distant from German than the Romance languages. The dictate of the moment was to find out more about the learning difficulties an increasing number of students was facing, and to provide teachers with tools to respond to this change in the student population.

Meyer-Ingwersen et al. (1977) base their preliminary report on data collection in preparatory classes for Turkish students from three schools. This amounts to around 200 speakers, but there are no precise indications on any background data. The circumstance that data collection was conducted in elementary schools and *Hauptschulen*, the lowest secondary school track in Germany at the time, indicates, however, that the age range must

have been very broad – possibly between six and 16 years. In light of the advice Meyer-Ingwersen et al. (1977) give to teachers, it seems that the general social characteristics of foreign worker families also hold for the students' families (low income, factory jobs, private housing in immigrant neighborhoods).

The study discusses the role of preparatory classes, the so-called *Türkenklassen,* in bilingual acquisition. While there was agreement across Germany that such classes did not contribute to more integration and including foreign students into regular classes (*Regelklassen*) became the official policy in the 1970s, Meyer-Ingwersen et al. explain why these policies are not put into practice. We learn that the state ministers of education and cultural affairs (*Kultusminister*) who were responsible for the changes were 'faced with the problem that they had to manage an unprecedented influx of foreign school beginners 'in a cost-neutral manner' – just as they had kept the whole problem 'cost-neutral' before, by ignoring it' (Meyer-Ingwersen et al. 1977:256). Rather than implementing new measures, such as a system of parallel bilingual instruction, regular classes were kept as '*ausländerfrei*' (free of foreigners) as possible:

> Therefore, more and more segregated special need classes and special need schools for foreign children are being established – measures that belie their inefficiency for a few years. As a result, current discrimination is not only being officially established, but irresponsibly exacerbated. The development of the next months will also decide, whether this ominous trend can be brought to a hold or not. (Meyer-Ingwersen et al. 1977:256)[56]

[56] So werden mehr und mehr segregierte Sonderklassen bzw. Sonderschulen für Ausländerkinder eingerichtet, über deren Ineffizienz man sich erst einmal wieder ein paar Jahre lang hinwegtäuschen kann. Hierdurch wird die augenblickliche Diskriminierung nicht nur festgeschrieben, sondern in unverantwortbarer Weise verschärft. Die Entwicklung der nächsten Monate wird mit entscheiden, ob dieser verhängnisvolle Trend noch aufhaltbar ist oder nicht.

Inflexibility in the German educational system and a general trend to curb rather than counteract the immanent problems at the time may have set the scene for isolated linguistic developments during early second language acquisition. The situation of students who are learning German along with other learners and are likely influencing each other's learning outcome is reminiscent of the ESL environment that was intended to assimilate Asian immigrant children in the U.S. throughout the 1980s. Wong-Fillmore (1992:47) reports, for instance, that 'the pressure to speak English is sufficiently great that it is often enough the language of choice even among children with a shared primary language'. As a result, the 'relative proportion of language learners and English speakers in schools and classrooms constitutes a major situational factor affecting language learning outcomes' (ibid:49): 'learnerese' becomes a main source of linguistic input for students acquiring English. Wong-Fillmore (1992) observes a highly variable output as a result – not dissimilar from what others observe for young speakers in immigrant communities in Germany (Dirim & Auer 2004, Dittmar 2013, previous chapter).

4.2.1.6 *Intra-Gruppenbilingualismus*: Bilingualism among Yugoslavian Families

In another study, Stölting (1975) and Stölting et al. (1980) examine the bilingual practices of Yugoslavian children in Essen. The long-term study included extensive interviews with parents and children on bilingual practices, language acquisition and language attitudes. Most importantly, the study provides a strong case in point of the possibility that immigrant families used German at home at very early stages of the immigration process.

Fifty-two Yugoslavian students and their families participated. In addition to the main study, Stölting (1975) provides a more thorough qualitative description of speech practices in one family. In reference to Fishman (1971), Stölting (1975) coins the rather unwieldy term *Intra-Gruppen-Bilinguismus mit personeller Sprachenzuordnung ('intra-group bilingualism with personalized language assignment')* to describe a highly complex linguistic situation: The mother speaks Serbo-Croatian with her husband, German to her 7-year old daughter, and both languages with her 12-year old son. The son prefers Serbo-Croatian but is tolerant of speaking German (Stölting 1975:65), saying he learned German 'von Mama und Papa und . . . hab ich auch von Lehrer gelernt und was gehört von der Straße' ['from Mom and Dad and… from teachers and on the street'.] (ibid:61f) In each setting, children are confronted with different linguistic varieties: At home the mother speaks a learner variety of German with her children, the father speaks Serbo-Croatian (ibid:61f). The school and the street are sources of standard and dialectal varieties of German. Yet, the two siblings are embedded very differently in these settings: The son spends much time at home, the daughter does not; the daughter attends regular elementary school, the brother is in a Yugoslavian transitory class (ibid:59); the daughter plays with German peers, while the son primarily sticks to Serbo-Croatian friends (ibid:64).

The interviews of the main study confirm that families use German 42% of the time (Stölting et al. 1980:134, Table 39), and that parents consider themselves and other Yugoslavian children as prominent sources in their children's German acquisition process (ibid:84f) along with input from German children in school and on the street. Over time,

the role of parents in the acquisition process is relativized, when school, teachers and other students provide new reference points that speakers orient their speech towards (ibid:87). What the parental input looks like, however, remains obscure in the report. Very likely, as with most foreign workers, the input is not Standard German.

The obvious question arising from this data is why Yugoslavian parents attempt to speak German with their children at this early stage of migration. Social factors may explain the choice: Yugoslavian workers had higher educational standards and a longer experience with the German language, for instance (Stölting et al. 1980:36f). Interaction with Germans was regular (ibid:64), echoing observations from ZISA, where parents who claimed to speak German with their children were exclusively from the group that socialized more with Germans (Clahsen et al. 1983:320). At the same time, because the social background of the Yugoslavian minority differs substantially from the background of rural Turkish, Italian, Greek or Spanish immigrants in terms of education, the results of Stölting et al. (1980) cannot be generalized. The next sub-subsection discusses the acquisition processes of German for Turkish and Greek children. Several studies by Pfaff in West Berlin allow for a comparison to the Yugoslavian students.

4.2.1.7 The Emergence of Ethnic Dialects?

Highly marked learner varieties in the early adult learner studies were consistently associated with considerable social isolation (see Sub-subsections 4.2.1.1, 4.2.1.2, and 4.2.1.3, above). In light of ongoing family reunifications, Fox (1977:44f) claimed that pidginization in the worker community was already going hand in hand with incipient

creolization in G1.5. Pfaff (1981b) readdressed this claim in a study with 40 children of Turkish (23), Greek (6), Yugoslavian (5) and Lebanese (2) origin, living in relatively segregated environments of Berlin. Pfaff concludes that '[c]ertain syntactic features supposedly characteristic of creoles, such as SVO word order, invariant verb stems, zero copula, and analytic rather than inflectional case marking, are present to some extent, but parallel to the structure of the adult immigrant language' (Pfaff 1981b:175f). She sees no evidence of incipient creolization, concluding in line with ZISA that 'foreign children's contact with German society and thus with native speakers is simply too extensive' (ibid:176) for a creole to develop. Nevertheless, the environment on which Pfaff's assessment is based, where 'children attend schools that have concentrations of foreign pupils of 80-90%' and, in some cases, 'special classes made up entirely of foreign children of various origins' (ibid:167) raises many questions. For instance, Pfaff (1984) addressed the question of interlanguage, language transfer and the possible development of ethnic dialects in the generation of second language learners between 10 and 14 years of age. For the study, Pfaff enrolled 29 Turkish and 13 Greek children that came to Germany six years prior.[57] Greek speakers were somewhat younger, around 10 years of age. Turkish speakers were older, around thirteen years of age. The study is based on social background interviews and picture-based narratives (Pfaff 1984:273).

Surprisingly, 70% of the Greek and 50% of the Turkish kids claim to speak German at home (ibid:274f). Pfaff mentions that most homes are L1 dominant and that 'L2 input

[57] Calculated from Pfaff (1984:274f).

includes nonstandard interlanguage varieties of siblings, other immigrant children, and adults while communication with native Germans may be limited' (Pfaff 1984:173). One child states that he and his brother 'sometimes speak Greek, sometimes German … because my parents don't understand so well—when we want to' (ibid:276).[58] This quote also points to rudimentary practices of mixing in families. Contact with Germans involves nonstandard dialects as another input source, while foreigner talk is an unlikely source of input (ibid:276). In line with Dittmar's (2013) suggestion mentioned in the previous chapter and discussed in more detail in the next chapter, the data shows that several varieties of German, most of them non-standard, played a role for Pfaff's (1984) young participants.

4.2.1.8 L2 Oral Proficiency among Turkish Adolescents

In 1987, Biehl recruited a gender-balanced sample of 125 students from 7th grade in Duisburg (ages 13-15). All were Turkish speakers and learned German after their arrival. Besides a large group of students that arrived in Germany only three years or less before the study, there was a group who had been in the country for over eight years. In contrast to adult learners, all participants in this study learned German in a guided acquisition process in school. Biehl's (1987) team assessed their linguistic proficiency in passive and active competence, and conducted extensive sociolinguistic interviews. Parents also returned bilingual questionnaires (n=85, Biehl 1987:56), making this the first study that

[58] Wir sprechen manchmal Griechisch, manchmal Deutsch wenn ich und mein Bruder—weil mein Eltern nicht so gut verstehen—wenn wir wollen es.

effectively links the background, practices, attitudes and linguistic features of adolescents to parents' social background, practices and attitudes.

In order to include critical social factors influencing the language level of students to his variationist analysis, Biehl (1987) collected data on the length of stay of families, the educational level in students' homes, the primary social networks, intensity of contact with Germans and German institutions, how these contacts were established (neighborhood, school, friends etc.), and what language attitudes prevailed among students and parents. Students were recruited from 3 schools in the neighborhoods they lived in. The proportion of Turkish students was 70%, 45%, and 25% at the 3 schools in question, respectively. Correlations between these numbers and students' proficiency levels were not immediately established. However, Biehl (1987:177) notes that there are 'indirect causal relationships through variables that indicate the contact with German friends'. Since there is a positive causal relation between contact with German friends and students' proficiency level (ibid:175) and such contacts are to be expected in proximity to Germans and not in distance to them (ibid:177), the neighborhood seems to play a role. Also, the proficiency level of the mother correlates with the extent to which adolescents visit Germans at their home (ibid:106), and, more directly, the proficiency level of siblings as seen by the students correlates with the variables of home environment and neighborhood environment (ibid:106).

All this is in line with the findings of Stölting et al. (1980) that a parent's positive attitude towards acquisition and the successful linguistic integration into a German group

of students or friends facilitate second language acquisition (ibid:182). Interestingly, though, Biehl (1987:106) points out that while the length of stay of the youth correlates with an openness towards having German friends and thus also with proficiency, it also correlates with a negative preference for German friends. Biehl mentions parallel findings in sociological studies that show a high maintenance of ethnic and cultural identity among Turk, partially in reaction to discrimination in the host society. There are no indications of a decline of identification with Turkish culture as German proficiency levels increase. So while Biehl (1987) confirms a relation between acquisition and contact with Germans, he does not confirm that this contact necessarily correlates with a positive attitude towards speakers. This resonates with work on multiethnolects as styles in so far, as there may be subjective reasons for Turkish youth to eventually distance themselves from Germans linguistically. Eksner (2006) describes such dynamics, for instance. At the same, Biehl (1987) shows that, in principle, a segregated environment is connected to lower proficiency levels – in which case the presence of non-standard features could have non-stylistic reasons as well.

4.2.1.9 L2 Written Proficiency among Turkish Adolescents

In 1990, working with a slightly older speaker group between 13 and 17 years of age, Aytemiz published a bilingual competence study of the writing skills of 20 German-Turkish students from a *Realschule* in Butzbach and 20 from a *Gesamtschule* and *Realschule* in Rüsselsheim. The author worked at the schools as a Turkish language teacher. Children had to recount a German and a Turkish fable in the form of a German

and a Turkish essay. Monolingual control groups in German and Turkish of the same size and with similar education backgrounds came from Butzbach and Erzincan, Turkey. The study overall is a quantitative error count of children's mistakes in written Standard Turkish and written Standard German. It allows for a cautious interpretation of the relative and absolute error counts reported. In describing Aytemiz (1990), I will adopt his perspective as a language teacher, and concentrate on the 'errors' in the German of students.

Butzbach is a small-size city with rural character where Turks are the absolute minority while Rüsselsheim is an urban environment where Turkish worker families tend to live in fairly isolated neighborhoods. Aytemiz (1990:215) refers to this as a 'ghetto situation' throughout his work. Almost all bilingual students in Butzbach and Rüsselsheim are children of Turkish guest workers with a weak educational background. Students in Butzbach have generally been in Germany for a shorter period of time than those in Rüsselsheim where 50% of students have lived in Germany since early childhood (ibid:199), and many (45%) even attended a German preschool (ibid:239). In Butzbach, fifteen students (75%) were in Germany for less than 10 years, and out of these, eight students (40%) lived in the country less than 6 years (ibid:199). Nevertheless, Aytemiz finds no correlation with the competence level of students' German (ibid:201). Instead the students from Butzbach with their overall shorter residence outperform those from Rüsselsheim, giving a strong indication that other factors than being in Germany and attending German institutions are more decisive. As in previous studies, the author suggests that regular contacts with Germans are a crucial factor. However, the data shows that the

students from Butzbach fall into two groups: a few with predominantly Turkish friends and a majority with a balanced circle of friends (ibid:204). There are no contacts exclusively with Germans and no contacts to immigrant children of other backgrounds in either group.

Note that Aytemiz treats the study groups in his work as totals and interprets findings within the groups only with regard to the overall findings in the group's linguistic error analysis. His approach calls for caution, because relative majority responses do not automatically correlate with the overall group competence in German. Correlations only stand out as evident where the differences across groups are unmistakably large. Fortunately, with regard to language practices in the Turkish homes the differences are very clear: only 40-55% of the students claim to speak only Turkish at home (none of them only speak German). By contrast, 45% of students in Butzbach and 65% of students in Rüsselsheim claim to speak German with their siblings, while speaking Turkish with their parents. Students in Butzbach say that they use both languages with Turkish friends, with regard to which Aytemiz observes that the substitution of Turkish with German is often preceded with 'constant code-switching (*Codewechsel*) between the first and second language' (ibid:214).

The students from Rüsselsheim 'indicate to use German as a language of communication more among peers than their reference group from Butzbach, [although] they earlier clearly achieve worse results' in Aytemiz's linguistic analysis (ibid:215): only 40% claim to speak Turkish with Turkish friends, while 70% say they speak German with them (ibid:213). At the same time, students in Rüsselsheim show a stronger confidence in

their own written and spoken German than the students in Butzbach. In the *ghetto* context, this observation is clearly in line with the development of a German variety that students feel is 'their own', yet which is at the same time non-standard and therefore perceivable as a remnant of L2-acquisition. With the caveat that Aytemiz is dealing with written German, it will be interesting to see how precisely the morpho-syntactic features in Rüsselsheim and Butzbach distribute.

After outlining the social characteristics of several studies on G1 learner varieties of German and G1.5 bilingualism, the next subsection will give an overview of a number of morphosyntactic features that these studies share with those on multiethnolects.

4.2.2 Morphosyntactic Features of Unguided Adult Learners (G1)

The previous subsection repeatedly referred to connections between social factors such as having German friends or living socially isolated, wanting to integrate or having negative experiences in Germany and exhibiting certain linguistic features. This section introduces some features that often occurred in the German of speakers living in contexts of considerable isolation.

4.2.2.1 Inflectional Morphology and Gender Assignment

Non-standard case, gender, and number inflections occur frequently in the data of Clyne (1968), the HPD and ZISA. Mostly, these features are manifested as reductions, as in example (4.1).

(4.1) ***bai*** ***main*** ***kole:ga***
at my colleague
bei meinem kollegen
'in the case of my colleague' or 'at my colleague's' (HPD 1978:14)

There also are overextensions of the feminine form in inflectional marking – a feature first observed by Clyne (1968:132) but also found in the other studies (example 4.2). Two explanations come to mind for the latter pattern: one possibility is that speakers are aware that inflections occur in German, but are not able to produce the right inflections, hence settling for a variant that indicates awareness of the necessity of inflection, while at the same time covering a large portion of the inflectional paradigm, namely feminine and plural forms. Another possibility is the transfer of non-standard feminine forms employed in foreigner talk, as in example (4.3), from Clyne's recordings. The same feminine marked outcome is reached by reductions in foreigner talk, as in example (4.4), below.

(4.2) ***ich*** ***mötte*** ***ein-e*** ***sohn***
I want a-f son
Ich *möchte* *ein-en* *Sohn*
I want a-m.ACC son
'I want a son'. (Clahsen et al. 1983:101)

(4.3) ***kommt*** ***ein*** ***mann***
Comes a.m man
und ***nimmt*** ***ein-e*** ***ding*** ***auf*** ***im*** ***tonband***
and takes a-f thing up on tape
Ein Mann kommt und nimmt etwas mit dem Tonband auf
'A man will come and record something on tape'. (Clyne 1968:137)

(4.4) ***wir*** ***ham*** ***<u>andere</u>*** ***<u>glaube</u>***
We have other.f belief.m
Wir haben <u>einen</u> anderen Glauben
'We have a different belief'. (Roche 1989:38)

Non-standard and reduced morphological marking on nouns and verbs is evident in Keim's (1978) transcripts. Orlović-Schwarzwald (1978:75) finds determiners, adjectives and quantifiers unmarked for gender, number and case in Yugoslavian workers' German. She notes that in the singular the lack of marking is more consistent than in the plural (ibid:76) and that the apparently feminine *-e* often occurs where Standard German would require an *-en* or *-er* ending. Orlović-Schwarzwald sees an influence from the local Mainz dialect here, which deletes *-n* and *-r*. In the plural, she likewise posits dialectal influences leading to a variation of plural *-e* and an unmarked plural.

4.2.2.2 Omission of Pronouns

Clyne (1968) reports extensive omission of pronouns as in example (4.5): eight out of fifteen speakers never use a pronoun, often dropping the pronoun in subject position, less often in object position. The HPD (1975) provides fewer examples, but all reductions reported by Clyne (1968) also occur in their data (HPD 1978:14). ZISA also confirms omission of pronouns, omission of articles and prepositions (cf. Clahsen et al. 1983:195f for probability tables).

(4.5) ***leuten gut, geld gut, aber was machen mit fuß?***
people good money good but what do.INF with foot?

Die Leute <u>sind</u> gut, das Geld <u>ist</u> gut. Aber was <u>mache ich</u> mit dem Fuß?
'The people and the money are good. But what can I do with this foot?'
(Clyne 1968:132)

Orlović-Schwarzwald (1978:84) reports a high degree of variation of the pronouns in her corpus and a high substitution rate of nouns through pronouns. Also, the employment of the honorific German *Sie* is notable, since Clyne (1968:88) did not find that his speakers used the honorific. Example (4.6) below shows that occasional pronoun omission is evident from the transcripts.

(4.6) ***vielleicht denkt aber noch niks gesagt.***
maybe think.3s but yet nothing said

Vielleicht denkt er/sie es, aber er/sie hat noch nichts gesagt.
'Maybe he/she is thinking that but he/she has not said anything'.
(Orlović-Schwarzwald 1978:204)

Orlović-Schwarzwald (1978:141) sees such omissions as an indicator of interference from Serbo-Croatian. The same could be claimed for Romance languages, which optionally omit subjects and Turkish, which has optional omission of both, subjects and objects. However, it would not explain why in Keim (1978) and (1982) all interviewees exhibit the feature, including the Greek female speaker. It would account for a difference in frequency of omitting pronouns, however: the Turkish speaker drops pronouns nearly half of the time, and the Greek speaker only a quarter of the time. There may be an influence of interference on phenomena that are otherwise common in unguided L2 acquisition (Keim 1982:164).

Pronoun omission is also evident in foreigner talk. Object omission occurs in examples such as (4.7), and the possibility of an influence of foreigner talk on this feature cannot be excluded.

(4.7)

ja	***wenn***	***wir***	***zusammen***	***arbeiten***	***mal***
yes	when	we	together	work	some time
kann	***isch***	***dir***	***ma***	***zeigen***	
can	I	you	some time	show	

Ja, wenn wir mal zusammen arbeiten, kann ich dir <u>den</u> mal zeigen .
'Yes, if we work together some time, I can show him to you'. (Roche 1989:38)

4.2.2.3 Article Deletion

Only 3 of 15 speakers in Clyne's (1968:137) data use definite articles. Orlović-Schwarzwald (1978:93) notes that 'the average speaker uses a definite article preceding a noun only in 0.68% of the cases in the corpus'. She claims interference may play a role in this extremely low value, since 'in Serbo-Croatian the feature specification <+/- definite> is not lexically instantiated like in Standard German' (ibid). Indeed, indefinite articles are instantiated as evident from her transcripts. In Keim (1978, 1982) there is extensive article omission among all speakers. It often occurs together with omission of prepositions. Her Turkish and Greek interview partner omit about 50% of all articles. In foreigner talk, articles are deleted as well – even from idioms such as *das Handtuch werfen* 'to quit, to throw in the towel', as in example (4.8).

(4.8) ***ich*** ***werfe*** ***handtuch!*** ***sofort*** ***ich*** ***höre*** ***auf.***
I throw towel immediately I quit
Ich werfe das Handtuch! Ich höre sofort auf!
'I will throw in the towel – I will quit immediately'. (Roche 1989:40)

4.2.2.4 Omission of Prepositions

Clyne's (1968:137) speakers also frequently omit prepositions and even verbs, as in example (4.9). Overall, these and other omissions occur irrespective of language background (ibid:132).

(4.9) ***aber*** ***Türkei's*** ***nicht***
but Turkey=COP not
aber er/sie/es ist nicht <u>in der Türkei</u>
'but he is not in Turkey' (other interpretations possible) (Clyne 1968:132)

Such omissions also occur in the HPD and the ZISA project data. The latter identifies directionality as the semantic environment for the omission of prepositions, as in example (4.10). The directional preposition pointing to the goal of motion is deleted. Example (4.10) would also be a perfectly acceptable expression in modern multiethnolects, and is discussed by Wiese (2009) under the term of 'bare noun' constructions.

(4.10) ***meine*** ***kleine*** ***muss*** ***schule***
My little.one.f needs school
Meine Kleine muss <u>zur</u> Schule. (Clahsen et al. 1983: 203)

The omission of prepositions does not directly concern the morphological focus of Orlović-Schwarzwald, and is not evident from the excerpts of the transcripts available. However, Keim's (1982:134f) data shows the omission of obligatory prepositions, as in example (4.11), below, and the feature is extensively discussed in relation to the context in which it occurs.

(4.11) ***er aber sagt:*** ***geh*** ***stadtwerk***
he but says go public utility
er hat aber gesagt: geh zu den Stadtwerken.
'But he said: go to the public utility company'. (Keim 1978:67)

Keim finds that prepositions are often omitted with verbs of motion and location such as *bleiben* 'to stay', *kommen* 'to come', *fallen* 'to fall', and *fahren* 'to drive', as in (4.12), below. The example comes from Keim's speaker A, who omits the most prepositions in her data.

(4.12) ***Ankarada*** ***ich*** ***bleiben***
Ankara-in I stay
Ich bleibe in Ankara. / Ich bin in Ankara geblieben.
'I stay(ed) in Ankara'. (Keim 1978:149)

The example also shows that A uses the Turkish locative marker in several instances where locative omissions occur, which strongly suggests that ultimately the omission of prepositions is not the result of one specific cause: unguided L2 acquisition and interference could both trigger the omission. An imitation of foreigner talk is likewise

possible as the omission of prepositions in Roche (1989) shows in (4.13), below. The feature is also found in other studies of foreigner talk, such as Jakovidou (1993:142f) who discusses the directional, locational and temporal meaning bare nouns can receive in foreigner talk.

(4.13) ***aber*** ***viel*** ***ich*** ***Holland*** ***fahren***.
but a lot I Netherlands drive/go

Aber ich fahre viel <u>nach</u> holland.
'But I go to the Netherlands a lot'. (Roche 1989:38)

4.2.2.5 Non-Standard Verb Inflection

Lack of inflection on verbs occurs across the data of Clyne (1968), the HDP (1975, 1978), the ZISA (Clahsen et al. 1983), and Keim (1978, 1982) and is exemplified by (4.5) and (4.12), above. The transcripts of Orlović-Schwarzwald (1978:127) contain non-standard verb inflection – but the large amount of infinitive marking found for Romance and Turkish speakers is not attested. The second and third person singular markers in her data match those of dialects and near-Standard varieties, and the past tense is consistently indicated – analytically or by inflection. Infinitive marking in foreigner talk is evident from examples such as (4.13), above.

4.2.2.6 Non-Inversion: Double or Zero Pre-field Occupancy

Non-inversion in the order Adv-S-V-O is evident in Clyne (1968), as in example (4.14).

(4.14) ***zwei jahre ich bin hier***
two years I am here

Seit zwei jahren bin ich hier.
'I've been here for two years'. (Clyne 1968:136)

The position of the verb is discussed in Klein & Dittmar (1979:153f). In most cases the verb occurs in second position, as in Standard German. However, there are substantial portions of sentences with the verb in third position: 12 participants use this order 'in almost every other sentence' of their German (ibid:157). Klein & Dittmar see an influence from Italian and Spanish, where an adverb can precede the whole sentence, moving the verb in third position (ibid:158). Interference is difficult to assess, though, as long as there is no control group with an L1 that does not permit two constituents in the front field.

The simplified learner varieties of ZISA also exhibit non-inversion: Subjects often occur in non-standard positions after the verb, as in example (4.15), or in the front-field together with adverbials, as in example (4.16).

(4.15) ***Hat die auch drei kinder.***
has she also three kids

Die hat auch drei kinder.
'She also has three kids'. (Clahsen et al. 1983: 153)

(4.16) ***ich mit de kollege spreche italienisch.***
I with the colleagues speak Italian

Mit den kollegen spreche ich italienisch.
'With the colleagues I speak Italian'. (Clahsen et al. 1983:152)

While non-standard word order does not concern Orlović-Schwarzwald (1978) and is not evident from her transcripts, Keim (1978:148f) discusses the feature of non-inversion in her male Turkish speakers' data (cf. also example (4.12), above). Finally, influence from foreigner talk is possible, as example (4.8), above, shows.

4.2.2.7 Existential marker *es gibs*

Existential *es gibs* is not evidenced in any of the studies of adult learner varieties. It is also not evident from work on foreigner talk. I have been unable to locate such instances in any transcripts – which does not mean they could not potentially exist. Note that *es gibs* is the only feature in my survey that the multiethnolect does not share with German learner varieties of unguided adult learners.

The next subsection takes a look at the features in the German of younger learners from generation 1.5. The order of the features surveyed remains the same.

4.2.3 MORPHOSYNTACTIC FEATURES OF IMMIGRANT CHILDREN (G1.5)

4.2.3.1 Inflectional Morphology and Gender Assignment

Because Stölting et al. (1980) do not attempt to give a description of the learner varieties spoken in Yugoslavian families, but instead focus on 'mistakes' in the Standard German of children, it is difficult to assess all the features relevant to the present survey in their work. Quotes from students and quantitative error-representations allow the assumption that the non-standard realization of case, number, and gender morphology lies somewhere

between 10-22% in the rather isolated *prelazna nastava* (preparation class) of Yugoslavian students (Stölting et al. 1980:174, see also example (4.20), below).

By contrast, Meyer-Ingwersen et al. (1975, 1977) provide evidence that almost all linguistic features typically found in multiethnolects today such as omissions and non-standard inflection were also present in Turkish preparatory classes of the 1970s. The authors claim that interference explains about half of all cases of non-standard realizations and that L1 interference has a prominent influence on mistakes students make in their German. They claim that complex mistakes 'emerge as a compound of erroneous processing of German constructions and transfer of Turkish rules' (1977:151).

Examples such as (4.17) below demonstrate the variability in inflectional morphology and gender, but also contain other features, such as article omission and subject omission of a relative pronoun. The sequence *noch mein Tante* could alternatively be interpreted as preceding the verb, that is, as evidence of non-inversion. In any case, the evidence of non-standard features in the speech of Turkish students from G1.5 in Essen is clear.

(4.17)

ich	***hab***	***noch***	***klein***	***schwester,***	
1s	have	also	small	sister	
Ich	*hab(e)*	*noch*	*eine*	*kleine*	*Schwester*
der	***heist***	***Sengül...***	***und***	***noch***	
who.m	is.called	Şengül	1s	also	
die	*heisst*	*Şengül...*	*und*	*noch*	
mein	***tante,***	***heisst***	***Azime.***		
my	aunt	is.called	Azime.		
meine	*Tante,*	*die*	*heisst*	*Azime.*	

'I also have a small sister whose name is Şengül and also an aunt whose name is Azime'. (Meyer-Ingwersen et al.1977:201)

The evidence is reconfirmed in later studies: Pfaff (1984) reports that gender marking is a major challenge to children with Turkish background, and she relates this to the lack of gender marking in Turkish. Because her Greek speakers are familiar with gender marking from Greek, Pfaff (1984) can effectively test for effects of interference. Indeed, over half of the 29 Turkish speakers assign non-standard gender to pronouns, compared to only one out of thirteen Greek children. Greek students have more problems with gender marking on articles, though, likely due to German case, number, and gender syncretism. Overall their speech is more standard than the Turkish children's (Pfaff 1984:286f). Further, Pfaff believes that input frequency is likely to influence the choice of gender: As in earlier studies of adult learner varieties, Pfaff (1984:290) finds that 'for definite article and for subject and object pronouns, feminine forms are more frequently overgeneralized'.

Biehl's (1987:73) study of Turkish students mostly concentrates on syntactic competence and the lexicon. However, he notes that non-standard morphological marking

occurs ‘to a strong extent’ (ibid:80) with certain speakers. Examples such as (4.18) show that cases of non-standard gender or case assignment occur in the data.

(4.18) ***jeden samstag wir haben eine türkische film.***
every Saturday we have a.f Turkish movie
Jeden Samstag haben wir einen türkischen Film.
‘Every Saturday we have a Turkish movie’. (Biehl 1987:67)

In Aytemiz’ (1990) written German data of Turkish students there is non-standard case, gender and number morphology, as in (4.19), where a Standard German singular dative case marker is used as a plural case marker. Gender marking in general is found to be a major error in the students writing with 75% of all students in Butzbach and 85% in Rüsselsheim assigning the wrong gender in Standard German. Interestingly, the German control group also produces many wrong articles: 50% make mistakes when applying gender, showing that the problems are not confined to children from immigrant families.

(4.19) ***…und er hängt sich mit seinem zähnen...***
…and he hang.3s REFL with his.DAT.s teeth.DAT…
...und er hängt sich mit seinen Zähnen...
‘…and he hangs himself with his teeth..’. (Aytemiz 1990:102)

4.2.3.2 Omission of Pronouns

Omission of pronouns is the first of three outstanding iconic features of ethnolects according to Dirim & Auer (2004). Evidence for pronoun omission in G1.5 is abundant. Meyer-Ingwersen et al. (1977:201) report cases of object omission, and believe pronoun

omissions to be generally caused by interference from Turkish (ibid:168). Likewise, Stölting et al. (1980) interpret subject pro-drop and article omission as 'Serbo-Croatianisms', because they supposedly co-occur with other calques such as the German preposition *bis* for Serbocroatian *do*, a directional preposition used without an article. Example (4.20) is part of the evidence they quote.

(4.20) ***dann*** ***gehe*** ***bis*** ***geisterbahn.***
Then go until ghost.PL.ride
Dann gehe ich zur Geisterbahn.
'Then I'll go to the haunted house ride'. (Stölting et al. 1980:187)

This interpretation need not be entertained, though: unlike Turkish and Yugoslavian – Greek does not permit pronoun omission, and yet, Pfaff (1984) finds that Turkish *and* Greek speakers do it: 90% of her 29 Turkish speakers drop subject pronouns in their German, as do 85% of her 13 Greek speakers, and 48% of her Turkish speakers drop object pronouns, as do 77% of Greek speakers. Pfaff claims there is no evidence of transfer due to statistical insignificance of the differences.

In older speaker groups, the feature seems to be less present than in Pfaff's (1984) group of children. Biehl (1987:80) reports omissions of pronouns, articles, and prepositions for overall less than 20% of the speakers in his data. Aytemiz (1990:152f) also finds pronoun deletions in the schools of Rüsselsheim and in Butzbach at fairly low rates: 25% in Rüsselsheim omit subjects, 20% in Butzbach, and 35% in Rüsselsheim omit reflexive

pronouns, 20% in Butzbach. The exact contexts of the omissions and the percentage of object omissions are not explicitly reported.

4.2.3.3 Article Deletion

The data of Meyer-Ingwersen et al. (1977) and of Stölting et al. (1980) both contain the omission of articles, as evidenced in examples (4.17) and (4.20) above. In Pfaff (1984) article omission overall is low, with only 6.8 % of all articles omitted. However, the feature is variably used by 93% of all Turkish speakers and 85% of the Greek speakers. Since Greek does not permit the omission of articles and the difference is not significant, Pfaff (1984) once again argues against a transfer phenomenon from Turkish, where indefinite articles are optional (ibid:281f).

Biehl (1987) notes that in his sample 23 out of 117 speakers 'consistently show simplifications in all analyzed structural areas. This holds for definite and indefinite articles as well as for prepositions at a rate that is in any case above 50% of all obligatory contexts' (Biehl 1987:80). All other speakers sporadically show simplifications, as in example (4.21), below. But they are advanced in overall syntactic development, as evidenced by the use of inversion, participles, passives and subordinate clauses.

(4.21) ***vielleicht*** ***geht*** ***er*** ***in*** ***arbeit.***
maybe go.3s he to work
Vielleicht geht er zur Arbeit.
'Maybe he is going to work'. (Biehl 1987:67)

Aytemiz (1990:152f) reports that article deletion is an overall prominent feature in the writing of his students from the more isolated neighborhood in Rüsselsheim: 30% of students there omit articles, only 5% do so in Butzbach. From these numbers it seems that the second of the 'prominent three' features of multiethnolects in Germany possibly evolved in specific, isolated contexts, in which speaking German and code-switching were the reported norm.

4.2.3.4 Omission of Prepositions

Another feature that reaches iconic prominence in multiethnolects is the omission of prepositions. The feature occurs with a directional and locative sense in the data of Meyer-Ingwersen et al. (1975:75). While Stölting et al. (1980) offer no specific data confirming its existence, Pfaff (1984:281) finds that the omission of prepositions occurs with 34% of her Turkish and 46% of her Greek speakers. Transfer from Turkish fails to explain this feature distribution. Interference is often quoted as an explanation, however, because of the general difficulties Turkish students have with German prepositions: like Meyer-Ingwersen et al. (1975), Aytemiz (1990:115) also interprets the feature as an interference effect from Turkish, because 'the function of some German prepositions is assumed in Turkish by case marking'. Example (4.12), above, from the data of Keim (1978) showed that interference could indeed be a force at work, but Aytemiz's (1990:152f) own data challenges interference as the sole explanation: in Rüsselsheim 45% of students have serious problems with the use of Standard German prepositions in general. Only 20% of students in Butzbach share this problem. And yet, in both settings, 20% of the students

omit prepositions. These numbers conform to Biehl (1987:81) who found that less than 20% of his speakers used simplifications consistently, but many others use these features sporadically. Thus, while the omission of prepositions may be reinforced by the Turkish locative suffix system, interference alone does not explain the feature. It also does not account for the full extent of the problems students have.

4.2.3.5 Non-Standard Verb Inflection

It appears that verb inflection develops in irregular ways in the Turkish speaking community throughout Germany over time. In Meyer-Ingwersen et al. (1975:70f) non-standard verb inflection in the form of infinitives is still very common. Only a decade later, infinitive verb inflections in non-standard contexts are unconfirmed for G1.5 in the work of Pfaff (1984) and Biehl (1987). However, occasional non-standard inflection remains characteristic: in the KITA study of children of early G2, Pfaff (1994:86) states that 'agreement inflections for main verbs are frequently non-standard'. An explanation may simply be age: the KITA study was conducted with children around three to four years. At this age children are in general unlikely to produce inflections that always comply with adult speech. Pfaff (1994:80) finds, however, that there are patterns 'of successive first and second language acquisition' and 'there are clear patterns of language dominance' among these children. For her, German appears to be neither the children's native L1 nor the children's L2, but a subsequently acquired first language – an L 1.5, as she later calls it (Pfaff 2009:217).

While there is no reported usage of infinitives in contexts requiring inflection, Aytemiz (1990) finds two types of non-standard inflection in the writing of older Turkish students: he documents overgeneralizations or non-standard realizations. In example (4.22), below, for example, the subjunctive on the modal verb is not accurately realized.

(4.22) ***….; du*** ***dürfst*** ***nie*** ***dein*** ***mund*** ***aufmachen.***
…; you may never your.n mouth.m open do

...; du dürftest nie deinen Mund aufmachen.
'…; you would never be allowed to open your mouth'.
(Aytemiz 1990:103)

An explanation of non-standard feature transmission from older members of G1.5 to younger siblings (G2) is therefore possible, in principle. Pfaff's (1994) KITA children could have heard non-standard inflections in their home environment from older siblings at a similar stage of development as those in Aytemiz' (1990) study, for instance, or Aytemiz' students could be parents of today's 'multiethnolect' speakers in Rüsselsheim.

4.2.3.6 Non-Inversion: Double or Zero Pre-field Occupancy

Although Meyer-Ingwersen et al. (1977) do not directly attest that the German front field is dissolving, examples such as (4.17) give room to such an interpretation. A discussion of non-standard word order also strongly suggests such patterns, because word order is overall very loose in their data (Meyer-Ingwersen et al. 1977:203). Stölting et al. (1980) do not mention word order, but Meisel (1977) quotes example (4.23) from Stölting's transcripts, showing that non-inversion is present, but possibly rare.

(4.23) ***dann Milan denkt wie die feuermelder funktioniert.***
then M. thinks how the.f fire.alarm works
Dann denkt Milan darüber nach wie der Feuermelder funktioniert.
'Then Milan thinks about how the fire alarm works'. (Meisel 1977:195)

Pfaff (1984) refers the reader to Pfaff & Portz (1979:290), where 'very low frequencies of nonstandard word order and no appreciable difference between Turkish and Greek speakers' were found. In Biehl (1987), there is occasional documentation of a lack of inversion as exemplified by (4.18), above. The feature is not confirmed in Aytemiz (1990), because it was not part of his search for mistakes.

4.2.3.7 Existential marker *es gibs*

Although the existential *es gibs* is not directly present in any study, Meyer-Ingwersen et al'.s (1977) data could offer a link between *es gibs* and early phonological developments. As seen in Sub-subsection 3.3.3.7 of Chapter 3, the standard realization of the existential would be *gibt es* or *gibt's*, phonetically realized as [gɪpts]. Meyer-Ingwersen et al. (1977:50) explicitly mention the problem speakers have with this affricate consonant cluster: the realization of the voiceless affricate /ts/ as [s] is explained by their non-existence in the Turkish consonant inventory, which is a possible cause of the contraction of [gɪpts] to [gɪps]. This observation is in line with phonological reduction patterns mentioned by Wiese & Duda (2012), but has limited explanatory power, since unmarking and leveling can likewise lead to a reduction of affricates. Unfortunately, my survey does

nothing to explain how the subject clitic became merged with the verb to form a new existential verb *'gibs'*.

4.2.4 SURVEY SUMMARY

After completing the survey of social characteristics and linguistic features that are found in earlier studies of G1 and G1.5, I now summarize the complete survey. In doing so, it should become clear why the findings pose major problems for the assumptions made by authors such as Dirim & Auer (2004), Wiese (2009) and Keim (2012), as put forward in the previous chapter. After summarizing the survey, I revisit the claims of non-transmission, youth language and non-nativeness in light of the more coherent history of social and linguistic developments that is about to emerge.

4.2.4.1 Social and Demographic Characteristics

Tables (4.1) and (4.2) contain the social and demographic characteristics of the studies I surveyed. There are several trends that may stand in relation with the social surroundings of today's multiethnolects. First, most guest worker families represent low-income households with low educational backgrounds. There is a clear relationship between education and the acquisition of a more standard-like variety of German. The Yugoslavian worker group of Orlović-Schwarzwald (1978), for instance, with its overall higher education exhibits more standard features, and adheres more to standard German morphology than any other group. In light of this relationship, it is problematic that multiethnolect research underrepresents speakers from lower income groups. There likely

is a connection between coming from low income families and being exposed to non-standard features.

Second, several studies speak of experiences of rejection and a growing animosity towards the German environment among adults, regardless of speaker background (cf. Keim 1978, Orlović-Schwarzwald 1978, Clahsen et al. 1983). These factors could eventually lead to boundaries manifesting themselves linguistically. Biehl (1987) shows that Turkish students in Duisburg increasingly have a preference for non-German friends in puberty. He explains this with the strong cultural identity of Turks. This is in line with reported distance between speakers of multiethnolects and German majority society in some, but not all studies (cf. Dirim & Auer 2004, Eksner 2006).

Third, the common predictor for a high non-standard feature occurrence is little contact with Germans. In other words, those with contact to Germans reach the closest approximation to spoken Standard or regional German varieties, while those without regular social contact with Germans fossilize non-standard features after about 2 years. Duration of stay does not outweigh this factor. For children without regular contact – such as those in the *prelazna nastava* (preparation class) for Yugoslavian children (Stölting et al. 1980), the *Türkenklasse* for Turkish students (Meyer-Ingwersen et al. 1977), those living in immigrant neighborhoods such as Kreuzberg (Pfaff 1984) and Rüsselsheim (Aytemiz 1990), or those whose families are more susceptible to a Turkish circle of friends (Biehl 1987) – Standard German as a target variety remains a remote objective, linguistically speaking. Recent studies of multiethnolects, by contrast, usually deal with

speakers that are supposedly integrated. Keim (2007:241), in particular, is more critical in her analysis of the circumstances and highlights that there are different possible 'careers' of speakers, depending on whether they retain or outgrow their isolation.

Fourth, we learned that isolation does not predict whether or not German is used in the home or in the neighborhood: the earliest documentation for use of German at home comes from Stölting et al. (1975, 1980), followed by Pfaff (1984). In the earlier study, there is some contact of Yugoslavian families with Germans due to their living situation. In the later study, the isolation of speakers is highlighted, especially of Greek students. Nevertheless, all these students speak German with their siblings at home at the time of the studies. In the Yugoslavian case, even the parents use German at home, which may be due to their overall higher educational level. In 1990, Aytemiz shows that in Rüsselsheim, an urban immigrant neighborhood with a high degree of isolation, German is spoken more often than in Butzbach, a small sized town where students are in substantially more contact with German. The German that these students speak in spite of speaking less at home is more standard-like than in Rüsselsheim. There is no or little mention of similar background data in multiethnolect research which probably leads to the impression that there are no native speakers of multiethnolects.

Finally, it should not go unmentioned that in the studies of G1.5, there is also an obvious bias towards eliciting data from Turkish speakers – a trend that continues in studies of multiethnolects, as the previous chapter showed. The only team of authors that currently

questions the fixation on Turkish speakers, albeit not in their own choice of speakers, is the *Kiezdeutsch* project.

4.2.4.2 Morphosyntactic Features

In what follows, I directly compare Tables 4.3 and 4.4 as well as Table 4.5, below. They contain the summaries of studies on language and migration in Germany in chronological order, beginning with the first generation. Table 4.5 is the restated Table 3.5, from the previous chapter, containing the reported multiethnolect features. The comparison of all tables shows that the only feature that cannot be confirmed in the German of G1 and G1.5 is the existential *es gibs*. The same holds for foreigner talk: all features in this survey are reported, except for the existential. With the exception of Yugoslavian workers who often have better educational background, the language backgrounds of Romance, Turkish and Greek guest workers do not seem to matter with regard to feature density. The linguistic features most consistently described and confirmed for generations 1 and 1.5 are the following four:

i. variability in case/gender/number morphology and gender assignment. It occurs across all language backgrounds;
ii. omission of subject and object pronouns - most prominently in the spoken German of Berlin-Kreuzberg, (Pfaff 1984), and least in the writing of students from Butzbach (Aytemiz 1990);
iii. article omission. The feature occurs with regional fluctuation: 6.8% of all articles in Berlin-Kreuzberg (Pfaff 1984), less than 20% in Duisburg (Biehl

1987), 30% in Rüsselsheim and 5% in Butzbach (Aytemiz 1990) are missing. Aytemiz refers to written German.

iv. the omission of prepositions: between 20% - 34% Turkish students use this feature in Pfaff (1984), Biehl (1987) and Aytemiz (1990), and even more Greek students (46%) do so in Pfaff (1984). The resulting bare noun constructions are said to have directional (Clahsen et al. 1983), locational (Keim 1978) and temporal use (Jakovidou 1993) – with evidence that several causes could lead to the omission of prepositions, including second language acquisition (Clahsen et al. 1983) and interference phenomena from Turkish (Keim 1978). In line with the findings for the adult Yugoslavian workers, there is no evidence of omission among emergent Yugoslavian bilinguals.

It is evident from these numbers that although omissions appear to be of importance, their occurrence is already fairly low in the speech of G1.5. The features are important for the study of morphosyntactic variation in multiethnolects because they consistently occur in variation with other realizations, not because they dominate the picture. I investigate non-standard morphological marking and gender assignment, as well as omissions in Chapter 7 of this dissertation for my participants in Braunschweig.

Two other features are also registered in the studies, but appear to be less important:

v. non-standard verb inflection: while evident for adult learners, it is either disconfirmed for G1.5 (cf. Pfaff 1981b), not reported, hence not confirmed, or it is confirmed but with a much more elaborate set of features, such as person

and past tense marking. Indeed, my own study will show that verb stem inflection may actually stand out as a more important feature.

vi. The loose front field (left periphery) is no longer prevalent in G1.5. A minority of speakers use it in Biel (1987). Pfaff even documents a quite rapid decline in Berlin: it prevails in a third of all cases in Pfaff (1981b), but it is no longer an immanent feature Pfaff (1984).

In summary, there is a development across G1 and G1.5 towards more standard-like features, and the occurrence of simplifications lessens. The trend continues in multiethnolects where many features occur only occasionally, verb inflection is generally standard, and non-inversion is in decline. Following the summary tables below, I will reexamine the assumptions already discussed in the previous chapter.

	Pidgin Deutsch		***Gruppen-Interlingua***	***Gastarbeiterdeutsch***			***Xenolekt***
References & study type:	Clyne 1968 (qualitative)	HPD 1977:154; HPD 1978:2; Klein & Dittmar 1979 (quantitative)	Meisel 1977; ZISA: Clahsen, Meisel & Pienemann 1983 (quantitative)	Orlović-Schwarzwald (1978) (quantitative)	Keim 1978 (qualitative)	Keim et al. 1982 (qualitative)	Roche 1989 (Quantitative)
Number, gender (♂, ♀), age (y) of speakers (sp):	5 ♂, 10 ♀ (adults), age not indicated	48 (1978:6) subsample of 12 sp (1977:148)	45 sp, 17 ♀, 28 ♂, 10 sp: 14-20 y 8 sp: 21-30 y 16 sp: 31-40 y 11 sp: 40y < (1983:67)	18 sp, 6 ♀, 12 ♂, 5 sp: 19-28 y 6 sp: 30-34 y 7 sp: 40-47 y (1978:30)	3 ♂ adult sp (3 families)	2 ♀ adult sp	28 German sp, 6 German sp contrasted with 6 foreigners (27f); ♂,♀/age not indicated
City	Bonn area	Heidelberg area	Wuppertal area	Mainz	Mannheim area		Rhein-Main-Neckar area
Language backgrounds:	Turkish, Italian, Greek, Slovenian (no numbers) (130)	24 Italian, 24 Spanish (1978:6) 6 Italian, 6 Spanish (1977:148)	20 Italian, 19 Spanish, 6 Portuguese (1983:65)	18 Yugoslavian (Serbo-Croatian)	3 Turkish	1 Greek, 1 Turkish	n/a
Years since arrival:	Mean: 6 y [min. 1 month (one sp), max. 8 y]	12 sp: 2 y, 12 sp: 2 y - 4 y 12 sp: 4 y - 6 y 12 sp: 6 y < 15 y	9 sp: up to 2 y 32 sp: 2 - 15 y 4 sp: 15 y < (max. 17 y)	6 sp: 0-4 y 6 sp: 4-8 y 6 sp: 8y < (23)	1 sp: 3 y 2 sp: 9 y	Turk: 15 y Greek: unknown	n/a
Contact profile:	not reported	Degree of contact with Germans and the features correlate significantly (1978:18, 1977:178).	Those in contact with Germans socially and linguistically distinct from those with limited contact (1983:299).	Age of acquisition, education, contact with Germans all correlate with the features (143f)	Correlation: proficiency, attitudes and contact w/ Germans (176f)	Turk: contact is limited to work (139) Greek: unknown	Main interaction at work.
Housing:	N/A (Clyne)	Private. Several sp in worker accommodation. (1977:155; critiqued by Clahsen et al. 1983:47)	Private. One speaker in worker accommodation. (1983:66)	5 sp in worker accommodation. Others private, half in Yugoslavian areas of Mainz (32)	Private, one speaker lives in immigrant neighborhood	Private, immigrant neighborhood	n/a
Education:	'little education' (130)	average 6 y school	max. 8 y school (1983:66)	13 sp: 4-8y 5 sp: 11-13y	2 w/ 5 y school, 1 w/ degree (118)	Turk: 0 y Greek: unknown	worker backgrounds

Table 4.1: Social & demographic features, G1

	Interferenz	*Intra-Gruppen-Bilinguismus*	**Bilingualism, Interlanguage, Ethnic Dialects**	*Zweitspracherwerb*	*Sprachkompetenz*
References and study type:	Meyer-Ingwersen 1975, Meyer-Ingwersen et al. 1977 (qualitative)	Stölting 1975:65, Stölting et al 1980 (hybrid)	Pfaff 1981b, Pfaff 1984, Pfaff 1994 (hybrid)	Biehl 1987 (quantitative)	Aytemiz (1990) (quantitative, written)
Number, gender (m,f), age (y) of speakers (sp):	impressions from ~ 200 Turkish students (1977:247), likely age 6-16. Exact numbers, age & gender unclear.	52 sp & parents (1980) family of 4 sp (1975)	32 sp (1984:273) 22 sp (1994:78)	117-125 sp (54), 50% ♂, 50% ♀, 14-15 y (7th grade, p. 52)	40 bilingual sp bilingual communities in Hesse, 40 sp monolingual control in Hesse and Turkey (15), 13-16 y (17f)
City:	NRW and Essen	Essen	Berlin	Duisburg	Rüsselsheim, Butzbach
Language backgrounds:	Turkish	Serbocroatian dialects & German (1975:60, 1980:84f)	29 Turkish & 13 Greek (1984:273) 22 Turkish & German (1994:78)	Turkish & German	Turkish & German
Generation:	G1.5	G1.5	G1.5 (1984: 274f) early G2 (1994)	G1.5 (59)	G1.5
Language contact profile:	The students are mainly from six preparation classes exclusively reserved to Turkish students. We can assume they had little contact with Germans (247).	German and Serbo-croatian use among siblings (1975:59). Students in non-prep classes more contact w/ Germans outside of school. Students in prep-class perform worse in German (1980:136-142).	Contacts low, but 50% of Turkish and 70% of Greeks speak German at home (1984:274f) pattern of successive language acquisition (1994:80)	Correlation between proficiency level and contact with Germans. Proficiency levels of family members correlate with students' contact with Germans (106).	Students from Rüsselsheim less contact w/ Germans. Butzbach students closer to Standard German; students in Rüsselheim use more German (238f).
Housing:	No details.	German and multiethnic neighborhoods.	Multiethnic neighborhood. (1984:274, 1994:76f)	Portion of Turkish students in schools is assumed to correlate with neighborhoods (53).	Rüsselsheim urban immigrant environment, Butzbach rural environment (194).
Education:	Elementary school and *Hauptschule* (248)	Almost exclusively elementary school and *Hauptschule* (1980:25)	elementary school, little schooling in parents' country	All *Hauptschule*. Some in regular German classes, some in prep-classes (53).	Rüsselsheim: *Gesamtschule* & *Realschule*, Butzbach: *Realschule*.

Table 4.2: Social & demographic features, G1.5, early G2

	Pidgin Deutsch		***Gruppen-Interlingua***	***Gastarbeiterdeutsch***			***Xenolekt***
References:	Clyne 1968	HPD 1977, 1978 Klein & Dittmar 1979	Meisel 1977; ZISA: Clahsen, Meisel & Pienemann 1983	Orlović-Schwarzwald (1978)	Keim 1978	Keim et al. 1982	Roche 1989
Non-standard inflectional morphology and gender:	Confirmed (132)	Evident from examples	Evident from examples	Confirmed (53, 76, 90, 127)	Evident from transcripts	Not discussed	Confirmed (39)
Omission of pronouns:	Confirmed majority drops subjects (131)	Confirmed (1978:14, 1979:144)	Confirmed (1983:197f)	Confirmed and evident from transcripts (141, 204)	Confirmed (134, 169)	Confirmed (164): Turk: 49%, Greek: 25 %	Confirmed (38)
Article omission:	Confirmed 12 of 15 sp do not use articles (131, 138)	Confirmed (1978:14, 1979:144)	Confirmed (1983:195f)	Confirmed (93, 127)	Confirmed (137)	Confirmed (171): About 50%	Confirmed (38)
Omission of prepositions:	Confirmed (132)	Confirmed (1978:14, 1979:144)	Confirmed (1983:195 f, 203)	Not confirmed	Confirmed (142)	Confirmed (176) Turk: 66%, Greek: 75%	Confirmed (38; see also Jakovidou 1993:142)
Non-standard verb inflection:	Confirmed (132, 138)	Confirmed (1975: 135f)	Evident from examples	Confirmed (127)	Evident from transcripts	Confirmed (181): 60-70 %	Confirmed (38)
Non-inversion:	Confirmed (136)	Confirmed (1975:136; 1979:155)	Confirmed (1977:195)	Not confirmed	Confirmed (148f)	Not discussed	Not discussed
Existential *'es gibs'*:	Not confirmed	Not confirmed	Not confirmed	Not confirmed	Not confirmed	Not confirmed	Not confirmed

Table 4.3: Morphosyntactic features, G1

	Interferenz	***Intra-Gruppen-Bilinguismus***	**Bilingualism, Interlanguage, Ethnic Dialects**	***Zweitspracherwerb***	***Sprachkompetenz***
References:	Meyer-Ingwersen 1975, Meyer-Ingwersen et al. 1977	Stölting 1975, Stölting et al 1980	Pfaff 1984, Pfaff 1994	Biehl 1987	Aytemiz (1990)
Non-standard inflectional morphology and gender:	Confirmed (Meyer-Ingwersen et al. 1975:72, evident from examples)	Confirmed (1980:174)	Confirmed (1984:290, 285f, 1994:81f)	Confirmed (examples 1987: 68f,see also 80)	Confirmed (156, 163, 170)
Omission of pronouns:	Confirmed (1977:168)	Confirmed (1980:187)	Confirmed Turkish: 90% omit subject, 48% omit objects; Greek: 85% subject, 77% objects (1984:281)	Confirmed (1987:78f, consistent for less than 20% of sp)	Confirmed (156, 163, 170: 25% Rüsselsheim, 20% Butzbach)
Article omission:	Confirmed (1975:74, 1977:151, 199f)	Confirmed (1980187)	Confirmed 6.8% of all articles Turkish: 93%, Greek: 85% of sp (1984:281f)	Confirmed (1987:78f, consistent for less than 20% of sp)	Confirmed (156, 163, 170: 30% Rüsselsheim, 5% Butzbach)
Omission of prepositions:	Confirmed (1975:75, 1977:178, 199f)	Not confirmed	Confirmed Turkish: 34%, Greek: 46% of sp (1984:281)	Confirmed (1987:78f, consistent for less than 20% of sp)	Confirmed (156, 163, 170: 20%)
Non-standard verb inflection:	Confirmed (1975: 70f, 1977: not discussed)	Not discussed and not evident from examples	disconfirmed (1981b) rare (1984) frequent (1994:86)	Not discussed (63)	Confirmed (156, 163, 170)
Non-inversion:	Unclear (1975:not discussed, 1977:203 no examples)	Confirmed (in Meisel 1977)	About 1/3 (1981b:172) very low frequency (1984:290)	Confirmed for a minority of speakers, i.e. less than 10% (1987:73)	Not discussed
Existential *'es gibs'*:	Not confirmed	Not confirmed	Not confirmed	Not confirmed	Not confirmed

Table 4.4: Morphosyntactic features, G1.5, early G2

	Kanak Sprak **(Ethno-sociolectal Variety)**	***Türkenslang*** **(Ethnolect)**		***Türkendeutsch*** **(Ethnic Style)**	***Ghettodeutsch*** **(Ethnolect)**	***Kiezdeutsch*** **(Multiethnolect)**
References:	Füglein (2000)	Tertilt (1996), in Dirim & Auer 2004)	Dirim & Auer (2004)	Kern & Selting (2006)	Keim 2007	Wiese 2009, Freywald et al. 2011, kiezdeutsch.de from Özçelik 2005, Wiese et Al. 2012
Non-standard inflectional morphology and gender:	Occasionally	Confirmed (208)	Occasionally (213)	Confirmed (e.g. 2006:323, ex 15:37)	Occasionally (232)	Confirmed
Omission of pronouns:	Confirmed (81-85)	Confirmed (208)	Occasionally (212)	Confirmed (2006:335,ex 16:104; 337, ex 20:04)	Occasionally (232)	Occasionally
Article omission:	Confirmed (68-86)	Confirmed (207)	Confirmed (209)	Confirmed (324, ex 3:549)	Occasionally (232)	Confirmed
Omission of prepositions:	Confirmed (68-86)	Confirmed (208)	Confirmed (211)	Confirmed (334, ex 14:60)	Confirmed (231, 233f)	Confirmed: 11% of locatives/ directionals (Wiese 2009:792)
Non-standard verb inflection:	Not confirmed	Not confirmed	Not confirmed	Not confirmed	Not confirmed	Not confirmed Rare (Özçelik 2005:136)
Non-inversion:	Confirmed (86)	Occasionally (208)	Not confirmed	Not confirmed	Occasionally (232)	Confirmed (Wiese et al. 2012: 17f) 18% of declaratives V1 (Wiese 2009:800)
Existential *'es gibs'*:	Not confirmed	-	-	Not confirmed	Not confirmed	Confirmed (Wiese & Duda 2012)

Table 4.5 (Table 3.5 restated): Morphosyntactic features, G2, late G1.5

4.3 Discussion

The three assumptions that tacitly underlie today's multiethnolect research are spelled out in the introduction of this dissertation and in the previous chapter. They are *youth language*, the view that one is dealing with an age-graded phenomenon that emerges during adolescence and eventually fades out in adulthood; *non-transmission*, that is, the supportive claim that there is no feature transmission from learner varieties to current multiethnolects; and *non-nativeness*, the notion that few speakers hear German at home and none of them first-acquired a variety of German that is similar in its properties to what is now identified as the multiethnolect. In light of the survey of social characteristics and linguistic features reported in the research literature throughout the 1970s, 1980s, and early 1990s, these assumptions appear even more fragile than before.

Altogether, the studies reviewed can be interpreted as documentation of feature transmission and gradual language shift in different communities across Germany: the features are acquired by parents in unguided L2 acquisition and by their immigrated children in a process of rapid, partially guided, but often isolated L2 acquisition with a lot of 'peer feedback', very similar to the situation of majority immigrant classrooms in the U.S. As a result there is a clear difference in the frequency with which certain features are used by adults and children – but they may very well mutually reinforce each other. In addition, foreigner talk may have influenced and solidified these developments.

With regard to the question of how variation in the feature occurrence in G1.5 came about, we are reminded of Dittmar's (2013) 'language shower' metaphor, mentioned in the last chapter: as children experience variable input in acquisition at home and in school, it eventually could lead to variable output. Biehl (1987), for instance, describes omissions of articles, pronouns and prepositions as highly variable in their occurrence as does Pfaff (1984): speakers at this stage with input from the standard language in school employ both non-standard and standard forms. Dirim and Auer's (2004) observation of standard and non-standard variation in the ethnolect is highly reminiscent of this – although their observation takes place close to twenty years later.

Variation, originally seen as a reason to dismiss the possibility of transmission from learner varieties to the multiethnolect (cf. Dirim and Auer 2004), can now be analyzed from a different perspective: if variation is apparent in G1.5, such patterns could have *themselves* been imparted from G1.5 caregivers to younger siblings or their own children, that is, G2. This possibility will be further discussed in the next chapter.

If transmission indeed took and takes place, the case for a youth language is not closed, but it must be interpreted from a different perspective as well. Upon entering early adulthood, adolescents could be elaborating on existing vernacular patterns rather than re-inventing styles for identity construction. These are substantially different paths: in the former case, the features are part of the children's first-acquired German repertoire, in the latter case students are either non-native speakers of German or speak some other variety of German at home, before they decide to 'talk tough' (Wiese 2009). All three

interpretations are possible, and possibly take place parallel to each other. However, as soon as there are children that exhibit the features in question and can be shown to speak German as a first-acquired variety, the assumption that the phenomenon is limited to a youth language crumbles.

As Aytemiz's (1990) study of written German nicely illustrates, the latest members of G1.5 had difficulties with writing and expressing themselves in Standard German. His speakers use German in bilingual patterns with their peers, even claim to speak German more often and are self-confident with regard to their German. It is hard to see how these descriptions would not point towards a vernacularization of the features in question: the features seemingly took root very early in the German of these speakers. If true, adolescents are then not producing something that is in principle not natural to them, but they are rather showcasing their identity by stylizing or emphasizing features inherent to their first-acquired vernacular of German. Such an interpretation would be in line with Füglein (2000:103), who reports that the reactions of her interviewees to German comedians imitating their speech practices reached from amusement to anger, but also included the statements such as 'they stole our language from us'.

The case for a youth language further fades if there is evidence of a strong linguistic presence of German in immigrant families. Stölting et al. (1975, 1980), Pfaff (1984) and Aytemiz (1990) all report German use and emergent bilingualism among families and siblings of Yugoslavian, Turkish and Greek descent. That this development should have reversed since then, back to where there is no German influence before children go to

preschool, appears unlikely, given the evidence of frequent and regular language shift in immigrant communities (e.g. Thomason & Kaufman 1988, Sankoff 2002, Boas 2009). The assumption that children learn standard-like varieties of German as their first-acquired variety also calls for evidence. Given the good documentation of the non-standard varieties spoken by most migrant workers, this option is rather unlikely and there is no evidence for it. But there is a more tangible course of events: Children could have picked up the features reported in today's multiethnolect studies at a very early age from parents, older siblings, other family and friends. The next chapter begins with a more thorough discussion of possible paths to an early acquisition of multiethnic German and shows that German is indeed a home language for immigrant families of today.

4.4 Summary

This chapter set out with the observation that in Germany there is a certain detachment of earlier studies in sociolinguistics and later studies of multiethnolects. An extensive literature survey attempted to remedy this situation. The survey suggests that there is a relation between the present and the past, linguistically and socially speaking. In light of this connection, the assumptions of the current research paradigm on multiethnolects appear problematic. Certain questions in the field appear to evoke certain assumptions, which in turn raise problems. For instance, the question of where 'multiethnolects' or similar youth language registers come from triggers the assumption that the features cannot

have originated in the unguided learner varieties of the speakers' parents or older siblings. The assumption is based on the fact that G2 speakers know other registers of German as well. The presence of multiple registers, however, does not determine where they come from. Furthermore, since we find the same morphosyntactic features across G1, G1.5 and G2 in immigrant families – albeit to differing degrees that align with gradual language shift – it would be intuitive to investigate how transmission happens, rather than denying it occurs at all.

The claim that mainly adolescents use multiethnolects, that it is an age-graded phenomenon, which children do not take part in, is also problematic. We find children that use the same features that are nowadays attributed to 'multiethnolects' throughout the 1980s and early 1990s. In light of the apparent proliferation of multiethnolects, is it likely that the features vanished from the speech of children in the meantime, that is, that these features used to be acquired but no longer are?

If the features have nothing to do with upbringing, because the practices in question were not first-acquired, and because by speaking the way they do adolescents express a new identity, what language or variety was spoken at home then? Do most multilingual speakers speak the heritage language at home as many studies suggest? As we have seen, none of the studies puts forward evidence that immigrant families do not speak German at home, and it is unknown what and how participants speak at home. On the other hand, there is strong evidence that as early as 1975 certain families shifted to speaking German

and used both, the parents' language and a variety of German. Code-switching practices are also widely reported at the time.

Due to these significant problems, it is necessary that multiethnolects be examined in a different, perhaps more fundamental way. The following four chapters contain four studies that exemplify how districts with a history of immigration in Europe could be approached alternatively.

PART III: MULTIETHNOLECT FEATURES IN TWO DISTRICTS

5. QUANTIFYING THE LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE

5.1 Introduction

The literature overview and survey in the past two chapters made clear that the origins of so-called 'multiethnolects' are not fully understood, and that the assumptions of multiethnolects research do not harmonize well with the previous literature. It is questionable, for instance, why the acquisition of German in immigrant families should be unrelated to the learner varieties of parents. Certainly the environment of multiethnolects differs from the G1 and G1.5 context of second language acquisition in many regards, but there is considerable overlap, both socially and linguistically speaking. All potential influences in the linguistic landscape that multiethnolect speakers inhabit should be taken seriously as potential input sources to these speech practices. In order to measure the influences at work, a thorough study of multiethnolects should therefire quantify speakers' language environment. We should also make sure that multiethnolect features actually occur in the data. In this chapter, I implement these two steps in order to lay the foundation for a study of multiethnolect origins in the two districts of Braunschweig, Germany, that are at the heart of this dissertation.

Before introducing the steps, I will briefly review three models that are currently used to describe the origin of multiethnolects in Section 5.2, and I will point to improvements that would benefit the models. Section 5.3 gives the reader a basic history and demographic profile of the Weststadt and Nordstadt, the two districts of focus in Braunschweig. The

remainder of the chapter explains the sociolinguistic interviews that I conducted and that resulted in the background data of my project. Section 5.4 introduces my participants, the interview procedures leading to the two data sets, and the analysis of the data. The results of the two steps at the center of this chapter are presented in Section 5.5. The findings with regard to speakers' language environment will receive attention in subsection 5.5.1. In order to make a case for a study of multiethnolect origins in the two districts, I will present the reader with a preliminary group of language features that children used in variation with standard features in Subsection 5.5.2. Section 5.6 summarizes the findings, discusses their implications for the communities of interest, and lays out the goal of the next chapters.

5.2 Literature Review

5.2.1 Three Basic Models

A basic working hypothesis of my dissertation is that a reliable model of multiethnolect origins needs to evolve from empirical data relating language features to social factors. Moreover, an open-ended approach focuses on localities and their residents rather than on a preselected group of speakers. Most studies discussed in previous chapters chose a specific social group within a neighborhood or a workplace before investigating language practices and characteristics, i.e. they started out with a social selection rather than letting language features lead to social factors that reveal information about the potential origin of certain speech habits and practices. In contrast, work in quantitative sociolinguistics

focuses on localities rather than speaker groups and gradually arrives at a speech community (cf. Labov 2001, Patrick 2002).[59]

When data for an open-ended approach are not available, researchers often settle for preliminary models that consider all potential sources leading to an observable outcome. Wiese (2012) and Dittmar (2013) delineate such preliminary explanatory models that can be refined in the process of further research. Another way of dealing with the lack of a reliable model is to adapt models from other realms of linguistic research. Cheshire et al. (2011) interpret the origin of Multiethnic London English (MLE) with help of Mufwene's (2002) feature pool model, for instance.

Wiese (2012) and Dittmar (2013) specifically refer to the German situation. As discussed in Chapter 3, Wiese (2009, 2012) emphasizes that language contact plays a minor role in the development of the German multiethnolect. She positions *Kiezdeutsch* somewhere between a contact and youth language, with multiple influences at work, ranging from speakers' home languages to an 'ethnolect' which is not further specified in her work (see Figure 5.1). It is unclear to what extent Wiese's model is based on ethnography, and whether she sees room for improvement.

[59] Chapter 7 provides a more thorough discussion of the reasoning behind the variationist approach.

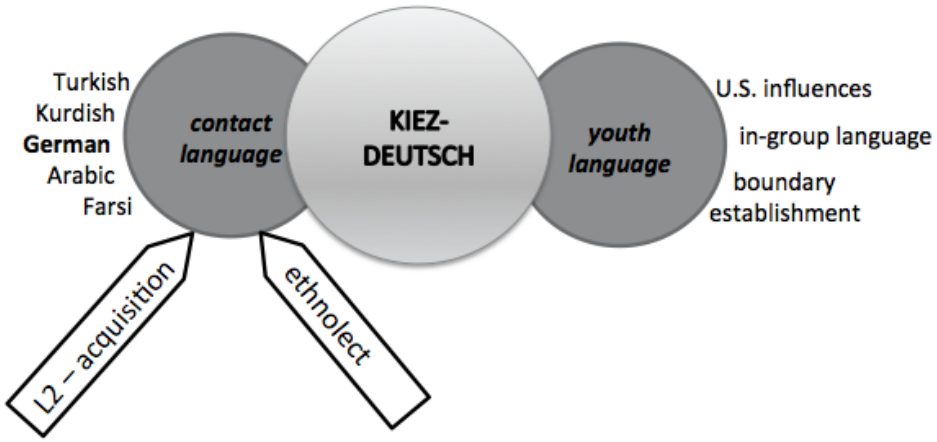

Figure 5.1: Influences on *Kiezdeutsch* according to Wiese (2012:46, figure translated).

Figure 5.1 avoids making a direct connection between features from the 'ethnolect' or from 'second language acquisition' on one hand and '*Kiezdeutsch*' on the other, thereby underlining Wiese's view that there are no speakers of *Kiezdeutsch* who acquire it as a first language (cf. Wiese 2009:803). As discussed in Chapter 3, Wiese emphasizes that multiethnolects emerge in creative interactions between adolescents, by building on existing German structures, and by redefining the functional scope of certain grammatical features. All these factors possibly play a role in bringing about the multiethnolect. Other possible explanations and origins of the features do not follow from Wiese's sketch of multiethnolect origins. There is no direct influence from learner varieties on the formation of *Kiezdeutsch*, for instance.

Recently, Dittmar (2013) has been critical of the neglect of learner variety influences in the literature on multiethnolects:

> Scholarship is indeed suffering from its neglect of the consequences of untutored second language acquisition. The root of the ethnically influenced diversity of speech styles lies in the most often

> natural processes of **L2- acquisition**: the simultaneous input from *Gastarbeiterdeutsch* (parents, relatives, friends), Berlin dialect with little influence from literacy, hybrid language usage in multilingual peer groups, academic German in school. This 'hybrid language shower' leads to complex and not always transparent patterns of language usage. (Dittmar 2013:5, emphasis original) [60]

Dittmar's (2013) explanation is more inclusive than Wiese's (2012). According to him, there are multiple sources feeding into the multiethnolect. He suggests no hierarchy or order in which these influences affect the child, but uses the 'hybrid language shower' as a metaphor of inevitable exposure to several influences (see Figure 5.2). According to Dittmar, learner varieties such as those discussed in Chapter 4 would influence the German of the second generation (G2) along with other German influences from speakers' surroundings, including substantial input from Standard German in school.

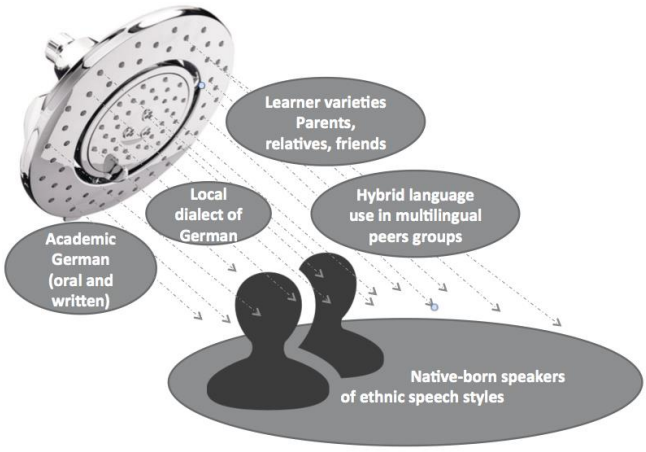

Figure 5.2: Illustration of the 'Hybrid Language Shower' based on Dittmar (2013).

[60] Die Forschung leidet allerdings unter der Vernachlässigung der Folgen nicht-gesteuerter Zweiterwerbsprozesse. Die Wurzeln der ethnisch geprägten Vielfalt der Sprechstile liegt in den meist naturwüchsigen Prozessen des **L2-Erwerbs:** der gleichzeitige Input von Gastarbeiterdeutsch (Eltern, Verwandte, Freunde), schriftfernem Berlinisch, hybridem Sprachgebrauch in mehrsprachigen Peergroups, Schuldeutsch. Diese « hybride Sprachdusche » führt zu komplex und nicht immer transparent zusammengesetzten Sprachgebrauchsmustern.

The difference between Dittmar's (2013) and Wiese's (2012) model is twofold: first, with regard to feature transmission, Dittmar leaves open the possibility of direct influences from learner varieties on the multiethnolect, while Wiese's model relativizes or excludes this influence. In other words: Wiese seems to buy into the assumption of non-transmission while Dittmar avoids making this assumption. However, the second difference is that Dittmar (2013) uses terminology that suggests the speakers' non-nativeness in German. Here, Wiese (2012) is more cautious. Although Wiese (2009) believes that there are no native speakers of *Kiezdeutsch*, Wiese (2012) does not say that these speakers are second language learners of German. Rather, she leaves it open what these speakers speak before they adopt *Kiezdeutsch* as a social 'dialect'.

Another model of feature transmission that multiethnolect researchers in Britain have used is the feature pool by Mufwene (2001) (cf. Cheshire et al. 2011). Mufwene's model compares language features to genes. There are multiple input sources into the pool from which combinations of features emerge in a process similar to the way genes recombine in biological reproduction (Figure 5.3). The arrows above the pool stand for dialectal or idiolectal variants of a language, which contribute unique features to the pool. The arrow to the right is a 'foreign language' (or 'xenolect' in Mufwene's terms), which contributes features to the pool that are clearly non-native. As in genetic transmission, there is subsequently competition over which features are retained and transmitted and which features finally get eliminated from the pool. The graph suggests that the outcome is dense and overlapping, allowing for variation between features in the same contexts.

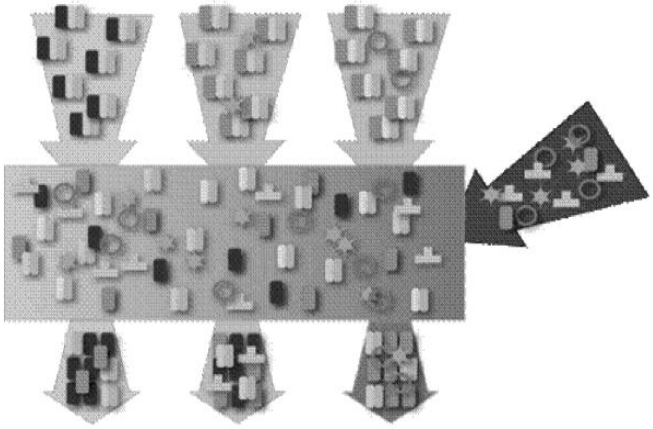

Figure 5.3: 'Feature Pool' according to Mufwene (personal webpage).[61]

A comparison of Mufwene (2001), Dittmar (2013), and Wiese (2012) shows that while Dittmar does not *per se* exclude an influence of language contact, Mufwene strongly suggests such an influence. Wiese views this influence most critically and also gives it the least weight in her model. She imposes the most restrictions on the possible origins of the multiethnolect by creating distance between L2-input and *Kiezdeutsch*. The other authors do not exclude any potential feature source from their model.

With regard to the speakers, Mufwene's (2001) model highlights a 'selection' from an available 'feature pool'. His choice of terms suggest that speakers are actively engaged in the process of feature selection. Cheshire et al. (2011) apply his model in this sense and believe that young children with parents born abroad actively avoid their parents' input. (I argue in Chapter 7 that this is not conclusively shown by their data.) In contrast, in Dittmar's (2013) language shower speakers have no choice: they are 'showered upon',

[61] http://mufwene.uchicago.edu/feature_pool.html (last retrieved Oct. 7th 2015)

meaning that they cannot avoid being influenced by a multiplicity of linguistic features. As discussed in Chapter 3, Dittmar claims, however, that this description fits a process of L2 acquisition. I hold that this is a problematic interpretation because second language acquisition is a process that is far more active than the metaphor of the 'shower' would suggest. If anything, it appears that Dittmar's model would best fit observations of first-language acquisition.

The predicted outcome of the three models also differs: in Dittmar (2013) and Mufwene (2001) the features and registers are highly variable, and the registers at speakers' disposal are not labeled and classified as one variety or another. Wiese's (2012) model, however, focuses on a specific outcome: the multiethnolect she calls *Kiezdeutsch*. She mentions that her speakers have several registers at their disposal (see Chapter 3, 3.3.2.6), but the relationship between *Kiezdeutsch* and these other registers is not clear from the model she proposes.

None of the above models is currently being applied to L1 acquisition. The next subsection considers this possibility: to what degree do caregivers have an influence on their children's L1 in a non-regular transmission process?

5.2.2 The Role of Caregivers

Caregivers are understood here primarily as parents, but also as siblings and other interlocutors who have an active role in raising a child, linguistically. As pointed out above, Dittmar's (2013) model of multiethnolect origins does not impose a hierarchy of input influences on the varieties and registers of German that speakers of G2 acquire. He does

not make claims as to which influences have the most weight, or which influences could be neglected. Researchers working under the assumption of non-transmission, such as Wiese (2012), would argue, however, that influences from parent learner varieties are ranked low in an environment where Standard German is present through schooling, the media, and peers. It is worth questioning this assumption because a well-documented setting of dialect contact, namely koinéization, may actually point to other possible scenarios.

A koiné is 'a stabilized contact variety which results from the mixing and subsequent leveling of features of varieties which are similar enough to be mutually intelligible, such as regional or social dialects' (Siegel 2001:175). New world koinés emerged in New Zealand and Australia, for instance, when English speakers from various regions with multiple dialect backgrounds immigrated and their dialects subsequently leveled out to form a more coherent and mutually comprehensible variety. Trudgill (2004:105) argues that in a 'complex dialect mixture situation', such as during the immigration to New Zealand, the outcome of L1 acquisition is radically different from the outcome of regular L1 acquisition: 'the amount of variability in the speech of many of these individuals is very striking indeed, and strongly suggestive that idiolects formed in a dialect-mixture situations may be much more variable than idiolects formed in stable speech communities'. Further, caregivers have substantially more influence on children's acquisition in situations of dialectal heterogeneity than in homogeneous speech communities, according to Trudgill:

> in situations where there is no single, stable adult model, children are able to choose from a wider variety of adult models than otherwise. Also, in the absence of a stable peer-group variety, adults,

> especially parents and other caregivers, will have a greater than usual influence on children's speech. (Trudgill et al., 2000, reviewed in Kresswill 2004:689)

While the typical immigrant settings in which these types of koinéization occur differ substantially from immigrant contexts in Europe today, it is possible to learn from this model: learner varieties, standard languages and other varieties could be important influences on the first-acquired speech of children in immigration contexts. It is possible, in principle, for children to acquire what they hear from caregivers as part of their first-acquired repertoire, and it is by no means certain that their role in acquisition is reduced. How dominant this influence actually is in the children's environment in Germany, remains to be seen. Also, in the multiethnolect context, the specific role of the heritage language and the role of language mixing both need to be considered. The next subsection briefly discusses these difficulties, and suggests ways of quantifying speakers' multilingual language environment.

5.2.3 Code-Switching and the Dominant Family Language

Practices of code-switching in immigrant families and peer groups pose a significant difficulty when it comes to quantifying the amount and variety of German spoken in immigrant homes. '[H]ybrid language usage in multilingual peer groups' as Dittmar (2013:5) calls it, is well-documented by Pfaff (1981), Dirim & Auer (2004), Hinnenkamp (2005), Eksner (2006), and Keim (2007), among others. As with the multiethnolect itself, there are several authors that characterize code-switching as an active practice among adolescents. For instance, Hinnenkamp (2005:87f.), in an ethnographic study with

approximately 10 Turkish-German speakers, sees mixing as an active tool in the construction of a hybrid identity, rather than something they acquire at home. In an idealized abstraction he states that 'with German speakers they speak German, with Turkish speakers they speak Turkish, and with bilinguals they speak both languages. These are the basic options' (ibid:89). Hinnenkamp believes that besides being the in-group register of bilinguals, code-mixing also bridges problems: 'we find inequalities in language dominance, and also encounter severe expressive weaknesses' (Hinnenkamp 2005: 89), albeit without going into detail with regard to what these weaknesses look like. Nevertheless, it appears that code-switching serves as a 'life vest' for non-native German speakers or speakers of German with expressive weakness in the heritage languages.

Similarly, Eksner (2006:84) finds that Turkish is dominant in in-group situations with differences in the nature and degree of mixing that mirror differences in the attitudes towards the two languages.[62] In line with Hinnenkamp's (2005) observation, she notes that code-mixing is used by those in particular who were socialized in German early. Here, the phenomenon is related to language dominance in German. But how would these youth communicate with their immediate family? If there indeed is a connection between code-mixing, language dominance and socialization, it should be asked whether the phenomenon is restricted to adolescents, as Hinnenkamp suggests. Neither Hinnenkamp nor Eksner quote data supporting the view that parents do not partake in code-switching practices. Questionnaires conducted with bilingual Turkish-German speakers indeed lay plain that

[62] For further details on the study, please refer to Sub-subsection 3.3.2.3 in Chapter 3.

reality is far more complex than a three-way distinction. Table 5.1, below, provided by Pfaff (2012), shows the results of a code-mixing self-assessment tenth graders completed at a Gymnasium in Berlin-Kreuzberg.

(n=43)	Participant to Interlocutor				Interlocutor to Participant			
Interlocutors:	German only	Turkish only	German and Turkish	No answer	German only	Turkish only	German and Turkish	No answer
Grandparents:	0%	83.3%	16.7%	0%	0%	78.4%	13.5	8.1%
Mother:	0%	35.7%	64.3%	0%	0%	50%	47.6%	2.4%
Father:	2.3%	20.9%	74.4%	2.3%	7.5%	22.5%	67.5%	2.5%
Siblings:	22%	0%	78%	0%	16.7%	0%	78.6%	4.8%
Friends:	7.1%	16.7%	76.2%	0%	2.3%	14%	81.4%	2.3%

Table 5.1: Code-mixing frequency as indicated by 10th & 12th graders (Pfaff 2012).

The rows contain values for relevant interlocutors in the speakers' environments. The columns show how often interactions happen in German only, Turkish only, etc. between participants and interlocutors. Participants indicated they use German and Turkish together regularly in conversations with their siblings, parents and even with their grandparents. In fact, they perceive mixing as far more common than purely speaking the immigrant language when their fathers and siblings communicate with them. Thus, while it is indeed

uncommon to speak only German with grandparents and parents, it is also uncommon to use only Turkish. These data reconfirm the point made in earlier chapters: rather than assuming that German plays no role in immigrant households, there actually is fairly strong evidence that some type of German – and most likely a non-standard variety – is stabilizing as a family language here.

Pfaff's (2012) questionnaire shows that it is crucial to back up multiethnolect studies with better descriptions of linguistic practices in the speakers' environment. A weakness in the data, however, may be the coerced distribution of values across language categories (e.g. German, Turkish, both) that speakers have to face as they provide answers. An alternative would be to allow speakers to evaluate each linguistic category separately. This would place the burden of interpretation on the researcher, but also allows for a more dynamic representation of linguistic spaces than static percentages. In addition, speakers could indicate whether or not their family actually represents the group of primary interlocutors after school. Knowing who actually speaks to students is a crucial point in better understanding the environment, especially if participants come from the understudied group of children as in this dissertation. This is the more important, since Pfaff's work highlights the crucial role of age: German apparently gains ground in younger generations in Table 5.1. Therefore, it would be important to gauge whether siblings actually are primary interlocutors to each other.

Another important piece of information in the larger puzzle is how speakers themselves feel about speaking German and speaking the heritage language. Previous studies of

children's language dominance already show that the role of German is continuously growing. Results of the *Spracherhebung an Essener Grundschulen* (Language Assessment at Elementary Schools in Essen, SPREEG), a large scale assessment of elementary students' language repertoires, language choices and language competence in Essen evidence an immense diversity of languages in schools. Chlosta & Ostermann (2005:37) show that 27.6 % of all students speak at least one out of over seventy immigrant languages at home, and that some schools are almost completely populated by multilingual speakers, usually from larger linguistic groups. At the same time, when multilingual students were asked to evaluate their German abilities, with 1 being the best and 4 the worst possible rating, they indicated a combined value of 1.29 for German and 1.79 for the 'home language'. The authors conclude:

> Based on their own assessment of their language competence, one would have to categorize all multilingual children and all groups of multilingual children primarily as German speaking children – because they consider themselves more competent than in their family language (Chlosta & Ostermann 2005:43)

Two issues arise from this conclusion. First, the authors do not specify which varieties of German they are dealing with, so that the categorization as 'German speaking children' is unclear. Second, Chlosta & Ostermann (2005) call the heritage language 'the family language' although their own study shows that German is replacing the heritage languages in families. This is somewhat ironic, since they preface their study with a number of teacher quotes that they intend to disconfirm, including statements such as 'Die sprechen zu Hause kein Deutsch' ('They don't speak German at home') or 'Wenn der Unterricht vorbei ist, dann ist Deutsch kein Thema mehr' ('Once class is over, German is off the table'). After

Chlosta & Ostermann (2005) refute these views, however, the biases re-enter their own work through the terminological backdoor.

5.2.4 INTERIM SUMMARY

The literature review began with a discussion of possible models for multiethnolect origins. I continued by discussing the influence of caregivers on L1 acquisition in dialect contact environments, and finally considered possible ways of quantifying these influences along with the different ways of speaking that are common in families. Dittmar (2013) and Mufwene (2001) both provide explanations of where the observed variability of registers and features in the repertoire of multiethnolect speakers could have its origin. The caveats were that it is not undisputed that speakers actively select these features, and that the process should also not be categorized as a process of L2 acquisition. It is problematic to label the process as either a process of regular L2 or regular L1 acquisition. The environment in which multiethnolects emerge is reminiscent of situations where children have to navigate various linguistic influences as they acquire language, such as in koinéization. Early New Zealand English koinés, for instance, exhibit high variability. Trudgill (2004) attributes a substantial influence in koiné formation to care-givers. Similarly, multiethnolect speakers' German could receive input from parental learner varieties. The comparison at least suggests that caregivers could actually play a role in the acquisition process.

My discussion above details why quantifying the influences in speakers' environment becomes a crucial task. If it should be manageable, it is best to keep the speaker as the main source of information, and to have the speaker assist the researcher in quantifying the frequency of interaction in each language. Code-mixing is a common

practice in many Turkish families and also needs to be considered. It must also be kept in mind that quantity does not determine quality: even if speakers tell us that they speak German at home, we do not know what the variety of German looks like. It is extremely difficult to choose terms that help students classify the type of German they hear at home. As will become clear from my study, I tried to alleviate the issue by giving multilingual students the possibility to describe their family members' German with the help of school grades. I also avoided forcing speakers into a choice with regard to which language they use most often with different family members. Tendencies for each language are more likely to reflect the actual distributions. In the following subsection I introduce the districts and schools in which these measures were applied in the data elicitation process.

5.3 Two Districts of Braunschweig

Braunschweig is a city with a population of 250,000 in the German Federal State of Niedersachsen ('Lower Saxony'), about two hours west of Berlin. Most multiethnolect studies focus on developments in the fourteen largest German cities with over 500,000 inhabitants, Berlin being the largest with 3.5 million inhabitants. Braunschweig is more typical of the average large German city: about 35 German cities range between 150,000 and 350,000 inhabitants. Many of them exhibit a structure of districts and neighborhoods that is similar to Braunschweig.

The two districts of interest are situated in the North and West of Braunschweig. The *Weststadt* ('West City') is a satellite district at the periphery of the city, and the *Nordstadt* ('North City') is situated at the edge of the city center. Each district has about 23,000

inhabitants. The districts have a history that is in many ways representative of developments in other West-German cities. They are working class districts, and experienced a substantial influx of immigration throughout the past decades. The percentage of inhabitants with migration experience or of migrant descent lies somewhere between 20% and 40%, depending on the immediate neighborhood. Because shops and essential services are available, as are local schools and daycare facilities, there is no pressing need to maintain everyday relationships outside the district. Speaker networks are therefore often oriented within the district or its neighborhoods.

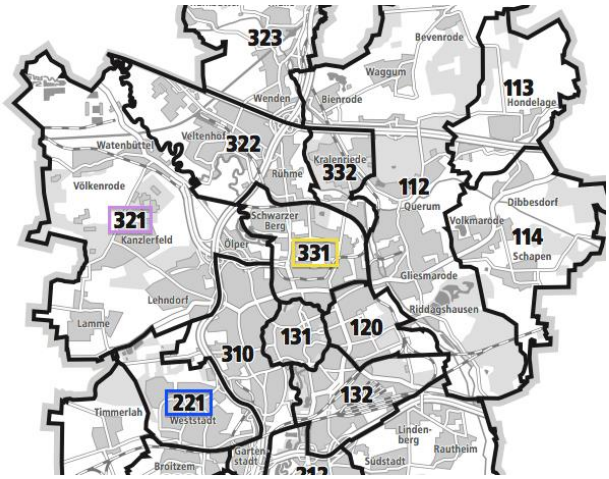

Figure 5.4: Districts of Braunschweig: Nordstadt (331), Lehndorf (321) and Weststadt (221) (map provided by Statistics Institute of Braunschweig).

In all of Braunschweig, the average number of inhabitants of migrant descent or with a migration experience is 16%. In middle class neighborhoods this number is even lower. I therefore compare the Nordstadt and Weststadt with the middle class area in the North-West of Braunschweig where I lived and was sponsored by a local teacher: *Lehndorf* is different in many ways from the Weststadt and Nordstadt. As the name indicates, this

community evolved from a former *dorf* 'village'. With only around 11,000 inhabitants, it is smaller in population than the Weststadt and the Nordstadt.[63] It belongs to the administrative district *Lehndorf-Watenbüttel,* and the percentage of inhabitants with immigration background is below 10%.

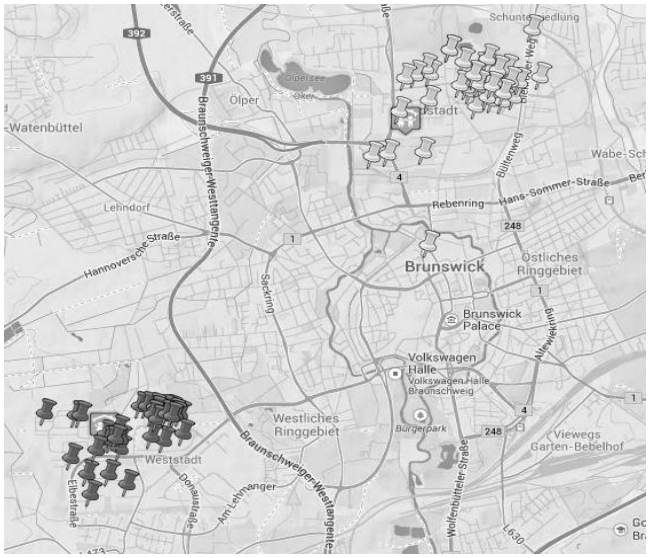

Figure 5.5: Participants in the districts Nordstadt (light pins) and Weststadt (dark pins).

Figure 5.5 shows the two districts of focus. The pins on the map reflect the proximity in which participants live to each other in the district neighborhoods. Satellite maps, below, allow a closer look at the housing structure of the districts. The Nordstadt is dominated by apartments and townhouses built before WWII; an example is the *Siegfriedviertel* with its demi-circular shape (Figures 5.6a and 5.6b). In contrast, the Weststadt is structured by apartment buildings, e.g. the high-rise projects of the *Emsviertel* (Figures 5.7a and 5.7b)

[63] Demographic data representing Lehndorf is extracted from four statistical districts within a larger administrative district.

that were built after the war. The maps show that my participants live in walking distance from each other in both areas: they attend the same school and often live in the same apartment buildings. In front of the apartments are playgrounds and public facilities that children frequent after school.

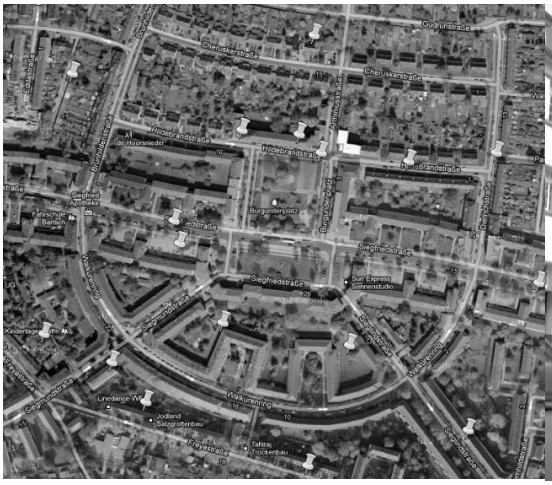

Figure 5.6a: Siegfriedviertel (satellite)

Figure 5.6b: Siegfriedviertel (ground)

Figure 5.7a: Emsviertel (satellite)

Figure 5.7b: Emsviertel (ground)

The middle-class area Lehndorf (Figures 5.8a and 5.8b) is spaciously developed and residents have more private property. From my observations I conclude that it is less common for students to spontaneously meet on the street and on playgrounds, here. This does not mean, however, that Lehndorf is a less interconnected community: the community grew over many generations, and I witnessed long-standing local social structures at the local Lutheran church, *Wirtshaus* (local pub, Figure 5.8b), market place, fire department and elementary school.

Figure 5.8a: Lehndorf (satellite)

Figure 5.8b: Lehndorf (ground)

The next subsection takes a deeper look at the historic development of the districts, in order to show how the Weststadt and Nordstadt turned into districts with a high concentration of immigrant families.

5.3.1 HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT

An exhibition at the City Museum of Braunschweig from November 2012 through April 2013 described the contemporary history of districts of Braunschweig in their relation to post-war housing problems, city development and migration. The exhibition emphasized the close relationship between the Weststadt and Nordstadt with different waves of immigration.

The Weststadt was conceptualized and built between the 1960s and 1980s. It was one of the five largest building projects of the kind in West Germany after the war, and accommodated displaced persons as well as former forced laborers from Poland and other Eastern European countries who lived in military barracks. When construction came to an end in 1985, the area had turned into Braunschweig's largest housing district. The concept also faced criticism: the monotonous appearance of the *Emsviertel*, for instance, led to protests that quashed plans for similar buildings. A major difference between the Weststadt and the Nordstadt is that all neighborhoods in the North already existed before immigrants arrived in the 1960s and 70s. This also explains the overall lower percentage of inhabitants with immigration background in this area. Gradually, the area developed its new character as an ethnically mixed district:

> At the time another group of new citizens settled in town: the 'guest workers'… from countries like Italy, Spain, Greece, Yugoslavia or Turkey. Initially, they were provisionally housed in factory-owned dormitories and camps. However, at the latest with the arrival of their families, new solutions had to be found. The Turkish migrant families, in particular, first settled in old buildings of the inner city area… Very economically priced, unrenovated apartments in the North – and here especially the *Karl-Schmidt-Straße* – were also inhabited by migrant families. (*Braunschweig*

nach 1945, Trabantenstädte, Traditionsinseln und 'Braunschweiger Schule', Städtisches Museum Braunschweig 2013:33) [64]

The importance of the *Karl-Schmidt-Straße* in the district's history will be further discussed in Chapter 8. Institutions such as a mosque sponsored by the Turkish state and a city-run youth center *Selam* that were founded in this area in the 1970s in response to a growing immigrant community give witness to the (former) importance of this area. Another central neighborhood of the Nordstadt is the *Siegfriedviertel* (Figure 5.6a and 5.6b, above), which was built in several stages between 1919 and 1931 (Hodemacher 2003:105). Because it remained unharmed during the war, it later provided housing for migrant families. The peculiarly shaped neighborhood further diversified in the 1990s:

> In the last two decades a redistribution started. *Weststadt* and the *Heidberg* now offer a new home to late resettlers and immigrants from Poland. In addition, quarters with a stock of old buildings like the Western and Northern *Ringgebiet*, the *Siegfriedviertel*, but also the *Schunter*- and the *Lincoln-Siedlung* have developed into city districts with a high proportion of migrants. (*Braunschweig nach 1945, Trabantenstädte, Traditionsinseln und 'Braunschweiger Schule'*, Städtisches Museum Braunschweig 2013: 33) [65]

As a result of European labor laws that took effect in 2011, the existing Polish community in the Weststadt also increased substantially in recent years: next to German and Russian, Polish is now the most common language in many public spaces and shops. In addition, like the Nordstadt, the district's population increasingly diversified after 1990.

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[64] Zu jener Zeit ließ sich eine weitere Gruppe von Neubürgern in der Stadt nieder: die „Gastarbeiter'... aus Ländern wie Italien, Spanien, Griechenland, Jugoslawien oder der Türkei. Zunächst wurden sie notdürftig in werkseigenen Heimen oder Lagern untergebracht. Spätestens mit dem Zuzug ihrer Familien mussten jedoch neue Lösungen gefunden werden. Vor allem die Türkischen Migrantenfamilien ließen sich zunächst in Altbauten der Innenstadt nieder... Auch die sehr preiswerten, unsanierten Wohnungen im Norden – hier vor allem die Karl-Schmidt-Straße – wurden von Migrantenfamilien bewohnt.

[65] In den letzten beiden Jahrzehnten setzte eine erneute Umverteilung ein. Die Weststadt und der Heidberg bieten inzwischen vor allem Spätaussiedlern und Einwanderern aus Polen eine neue Heimat. Daneben haben sich Quartiere mit Altbaubestand wie das westliche und das nördliche Ringgebiet, das Siegfriedviertel, aber auch die Schunter- und die Lincoln-Siedlung zu Stadtvieteln mit hohem Migrantenanteil entwickelt.

The vast majority of immigrants no longer comes from larger linguistic or ethnic groups. The museum guide contrasts the Weststadt with 'upscale residential areas such as the *Kanzlerfeld*' because they 'are still preferred by predominantly German inhabitants with higher income'. To illustrate this contrast between my districts of focus and the predominantly German middle-class Lehndorf further, I will now give a brief overview of the demographic factors that characterize the districts.

5.3.2 DEMOGRAPHIC COMPARISON

5.3.2.1 Population

Table 5.2, below, shows the official population statistics of 2011, a year before my study began.[66] On average, 16.7% of Braunschweig's 244,806 inhabitants have 'migration background'. In the Nordstadt they were 20.9% and in the Weststadt 36.9%.

[66] The Referat Stadtentwicklung und Statistik, Arbeitsgruppe Statistik und Stadtforschung (0120.10), Stadt Braunschweig generously provided me with all demographic data used in this Subsection via email.

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Category:	Population 2011	Germans			Foreigners	Migration background (4+5)
Districts:		Total (3+4)	w/o dual citizenship	w/ dual citizenship*		
Braunschweig total	244 806	226 206	203 803	22 403	18 600	41 003
%	100	92.4	83.3	9.2	7.6	16.7
Nordstadt	22 027	19 372	17 425	1 947	2 655	4 602
%	100	87.9	79.1	8.8	12,1	**20.9**
Weststadt	23 268	20 852	14 688	1 642	6 416	8 580
%	100	89.6	63.1	26.5	10.4	**36.9**
Lehndorf*	10 978	10 582	10 065	517	396	913
%	100	96.4	91.7	4.7	3.6	**8.3**
**Alt-Lehndorf*, *Lehndorf Siedlung, Kanzlerfeld* and *Ölper Holz*						

Table 5.2: Inhabitants with migrant background in three districts of Braunschweig.

The 'migrant background' category is composed of foreigners (non-citizens) and dual citizens. Such a composition, however, is seldom accurate (cf. Kröhnert 2006:76f), because numbers can be far higher when age groups are taken into account or when all German citizens of migrant descent are considered. For instance, in the classrooms I recruited for the study the ratio of multilingual children to monolingual children was 18/24 in the Nordstadt and 25/9 in the Weststadt.[67] In spite of this issue, official statistics give a feeling for one important difference: The Weststadt has four times as many citizens of migrant descent than nearby Lehndorf and more than twice as many as Braunschweig on average. When looking at the demographic values of the Nordstadt and the actual classroom distributions I obtained, it appears that the make-up of the population in the Nordstadt is somewhat different from the Weststadt, and closer to the values of Braunschweig overall.

[67] Ratio of the final participants 17/18 (NS), 23/8 (WS)

5.3.2.2 Socioeconomic Status

Socioeconomic data pertains to the year 2012, when my study began. Unfortunately, data pertaining to unemployment and social benefits is not categorized by migration background. Only the category of foreigners is listed separately in Table 5.3, below.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Category:	Population 2012	Unemployed		On welfare		Children on welfare	
Districts:		Overall	Foreigners	Overall	Foreigners	Overall	Foreigners
Braunschweig	246 742	9 165	1 500	21.345	3.772	5.266	552
%	100	5.5	9.3	11.5	17.7	**17.7**	10
Nordstadt	23 514	1 124	197	2.666	509	654	74
%	100	6.7	7.9	13.8	19.1	**27.4**	11.3
Weststadt	23 537	1 365	328	4.499	977	1.398	164
%	100	9.6	16.0	25.7	21.7	**42.6**	11.7
Lehndorf*	11.025	268	23	515	71	100	11
%	100	4.0	6.8	6.4	13.8	**7.9**	11.0
**Alt-Lehndorf*, *Lehndorf Siedlung, Kanzlerfeld* and *Ölper Holz*							

Table 5.3: Welfare and unemployment in three districts of Braunschweig.

With 6.7% and 9.6 % vs. 5.5%, the unemployment rates of the Nordstadt and Weststadt are above those of Braunschweig in general. So are the rates of welfare recipients (13.9% and 25.7% vs. 11.5%). When looking at the categories pertaining to foreigners alone, there is a marginal difference between the Nordstadt and Lehndorf in unemployment and welfare rates, while the Weststadt scores twice as high or more. That many children of migrant descent may now have dual citizenship or German citizenship, and the overall low numbers of 'foreign children' on welfare imply that the vast majority of children of migrant descent are now subsumed under 'overall', making column six the most relevant source of information on the difference between the Nordstadt (27.4%), Weststadt (42.6%) and

Lehndorf (7.9%) with regard to its inhabitants of migrant descent. Altogether, the data clearly shows that the Weststadt is the district on which immigration has had the highest impact. It is also the socio-economically weakest district. The Nordstadt is also clearly distinct in its demographic make-up and social figures from the middle-class area around Lehndorf. However, it is overall closer to the average values of Braunschweig. In my study, the value 'district' therefore refers to a socio-economic and a demographic difference.

5.3.3 Access to the Communities

During my stays in 2012, 2013, and 2014, a teacher provided accommodation in Alt-Lehndorf, about a 10 minute bike-ride from the Weststadt (3 km) and a twenty-minute bike ride (6 km) from the Nordstadt. My host had lived and worked in the area for over thirty years and helped establish key contacts. The project also benefitted from my host's contact to a university student of Turkish background who became my research assistant: she grew up in the Nordstadt with her husband and is now living not far from the Weststadt. She provided many contacts in the districts. In addition, my four-year experience in social work in Leipzig helped me locate and observe the most important sites of interaction, locally. I spent 22 days with observation and testing in the Nordstadt and Weststadt. A day and many evenings were dedicated to observations in Lehndorf that will not be part of this dissertation.

5.4 Methodology

5.4.1 PARTICIPANTS

For the interviews, my assistant and I worked with participants between 10 and 11 years of age at two elementary schools: one in the Nordstadt (NSE) and one in the Weststadt (WSE). Due to logistic limitations, the data collected from participants in an elementary school in Lehndorf did not cover the same range as in the other neighborhoods. Future projects may include data from Lehndorf, but it is not included in this dissertation to keep the data comparable.[68]

In Braunschweig, elementary schools are rooted in the local community like no other school type, because local regulations require schools to be within walking distance of students' homes. After fourth grade students switch from elementary school to secondary school tracks with different graduation possibilities. Fourth grade is therefore the last grade level in which students of different academic ability levels but from the same district or neighborhood study together before they go separate ways. The Institutional Review Board at The University of Texas at Austin approved an implicit consent procedure due to the schools' involvement: parents were informed through the school and had to object if they did not want their child to participate. No parents objected. The forms that were used to inform parents and their English translations are attached in Appendix A.

[68] Only the experimental data for a free-sorting experiment (Chapter 6) was collected in Lehndorf. The background interviews were limited to a written part, and the video-retelling task (Chapter 7) was not conducted.

Seventy-four students contributed data in 2012. Students were excluded if they were not born in Germany (2 students), if they had a reading disability (1 student), or if they fell out of the socioeconomic pattern of the neighborhoods, and no longer lived in the district (5 students).[69] Of the remaining 66 students, 35 came from the NSE (18 monolingual, 17 multilingual) and 31 from the WSE (9 monolingual, 22 multilingual). Overall there were 28 boys and 38 girls, with five more girls than boys in each school. All had been born in Germany. Twenty-seven participants were monolingual and 39 were at least bilingual or had at least one parent not born in Germany. The following heritage languages are represented in the sample: Turkish (17), Polish (6), Russian (5), Arabic (4), Thai (1), Italian (1), Kurdish (2), Aramaic (1), Albanian (1), Cantonese (1), English (1), Greek (1), Indonesian (1), Mandarin (1), Ukrainian (1), and an unidentified African language (1).[70] Of the 39 multilingual participants, 6 were trilingual (students with African, Chinese, Kurdish, and Ukrainian backgrounds, as well as an Indonesian-Thai student). All speakers of Eastern European languages came from the WSE, while the Turkish students came from both neighborhoods.

[69] However, some of these students' data was later included in the variationist analysis for reasons discussed in chapter 6 and 7.

[70] It was not possible to further differentiate these languages into dialects or other varieties. Having grown up in Germany, students have difficulties categorizing their parents' language in terms of regional or social dialects.

5.4.2 PROCEDURES

5.4.2.1 Background and Language Questionnaire

All 66 children took part in oral interviews during which they completed a background and language questionnaire. The goal was to provide background data and a quantification of the potential influences in their language environments. Each interview lasted between 20 and 45 minutes and was conducted by my assistant or me with 2 to 3 students at a time. Both schools generously provided a quiet room for the interview. Interviews were recorded on video, but only the forms were used for the evaluation procedure. The full interview form with its translation is attached in Appendix B. It consists of five parts: (i) basic background data (ii) language background data, (iii) subjective family language assessment, (iv) subjective family language frequency, and (v) a nuanced subjective assessment of the language environment. Age, gender, nationality, place of birth, years of living in the district, and the number of people living at home counted as basic background data. Monolingual students only answered this part of the questionnaire.

The language background data listed all languages spoken at home, any mixing of languages, the speakers age of acquisition of their languages, the places of acquisition, the number of years of speaking specific languages in the country and household, regular vacations in parents' country of birth and students' language use there.[71] This part

[71] The language questionnaire was intended to give an impression of distinct language usage rather than dialect usage in immigrant homes. Finer categorizations than 'language' were not elicited in the questionnaire. However, by asking students about the quality of family members' German (section 3 of the questionnaire), there is a way of evaluating how close German in question is to Standard German.

necessarily relied on the children's subjective assessment, although the values are in principle measurable. Children who indicated speaking another language at home – even if only 'sometimes' or 'hardly ever' – completed all parts of the questionnaire.

The subjective family language assessment included giving 'school grades' (from 1 = 'very good' to 5 = 'deficient') on the performance and comprehension of German and any other language of all family members in the household and of the student him- or herself. I chose school grades for practical reasons: it is a reference point in every-day school life that they are familiar with when it comes to evaluating performance in numbers. Better grades express a certain proximity to the German taught in school.

We also had students assess the subjective family language frequency of German, any other language(s), and mixing with each family member. The frequency measure consisted of 5 values (from 1 = 'hardly ever' to 5 = 'almost always'), allowing children to indicate the perceived frequency with which different interlocutors directed different languages at them in their environment.

Finally, students provided a more nuanced subjective assessment of their language environment by naming their principal interlocutors outside of school and specifying the language use with them and the usual conversation topics. They also told us whether they give language assistance to parents, what languages they use with friends, what their media consumption looks like, and what languages are used at non-academic institutions such as mosque, church, cultural center, or the youth club they attend. The current chapter uses the

information on principal interlocutors and only briefly discusses the role of different social spaces and language use.

5.4.2.2 Speaker Recordings

My assistant and I recorded all interviews with a digital video camera and a table microphone. The recordings served the initial exploration of children's language practices. Instead of listening to over 13 hours of recordings, I probed the recordings of each speaker at several points, listening attentively for immediately perceivable multiethnolect features such as those discussed in Chapters 3 and 4. By remaining relatively formal, we ensured that the use of multiethnolect features was not based on any linguistic input we provided them with during the interview. However, we offered two contexts that could potentially trigger multiethnolect feature use: first, my assistant would code-switch with students of Turkish background during the regular interview, while remaining formal, and not providing students with examples of any features discussed in previous chapters.

The second context was provided to 22 randomly selected students: my assistant and I initiated discussions of the impending school change, school in general, the German language, and identity questions with students. These separate conversations aimed at effects similar to Labov's (1972) 'danger of death questions': they were more emotionally charged than the background data and language interviews, and had the potential to distract participants from the formal interview situation. In a few cases this was successful. Note, again, that my assistant and I never used multiethnolect features in the procedure, so that any features we found had to be part of the speakers' repertoire before the interview.

5.4.3 ANALYSIS

5.4.3.1 Background Information and Language Questionnaire

I manually transferred the reported values from the background and language questionnaire into an Excel-spreadsheet. If fields were not applicable, a child did not know, or did not want to give an answer, the respective language fields were excluded. This happened in very few instances, so results were never strongly affected.

Children were asked to indicate a value for the frequency with which family members spoke German, the heritage language and a mixed form of the two with them (e.g. 'How often does your mother speak to you in German? And how often in Turkish? How often does she use both languages mixed?'). I also asked how often my interviewees mixed languages (e.g. 'How often do you mix both languages when speaking with your mother?'). Since I wanted to work with tendencies rather than fixed numbers, students were able to rate each linguistic practice separately. I gave students this choice based on the consideration that the perception of frequency is contextual: a child may hear the heritage language and German 'most of the time' because there could be two parallel contexts fitting this description. For instance, the father may speak German outside of the home 'most of the time' and Turkish at home 'most of the time'. Such a distribution does not necessarily imply that he is mixing languages. However, because language mixing may better fit the language patterns students experience at home, it was listed as an option to describe language practices at home.

The resulting values for the mothers and the fathers were kept separate. Combined results of up to 3 older siblings and up to 2 younger siblings comprised the categories 'older siblings' and 'younger siblings'. This distinction was made due to the special role older siblings play in the migration process (see Chapter 4). Based on these four results, I calculated an average 'family tally' reflecting the perceived frequency of German, the other language, and of deliberate language mixing in each district.

As mentioned, the problem with these values is that they do not necessarily represent with whom children most often talk. Since the role of the family in feature transmission is disputed, it is especially important to have a systematic measure beyond the family. We therefore conducted a more nuanced subjective assessment of students' language environment by having students tell us whom they communicate most with after school. Each student was able to provide us with up to 3 primary interlocutors. As before, they evaluated the frequency with which their primary interlocutors spoke to them in German, the heritage language, and in a mixed manner. It was possible to name anyone as such an interlocutor: family, friends, extended family, neighbors etc.

With regard to the perceived quality of the languages spoken in their family, children answered two questions on proficiency and comprehension of each family member (e.g. 'How well does your father speak German? Give him a school grade', and 'How well does your father understand German? Give him a school grade.'). I averaged the grade for proficiency and comprehension to produce an overall value for each family member. In addition, interviewees graded their own proficiency and comprehension, allowing for an

estimation of perceived language dominance similar to that in Chlosta & Ostermann (2005). If the overall frequency of German exceeded the frequency of Turkish for a speaker, for instance, I noted the dominant home language as German, even if the variety status of German remains unclear at this point. A classification of the type of German students referred to was not discussed because it would have led to confusion.

5.4.3.2 Speaker Recordings

Recordings were spot-checked for preliminary evidence of the morphosyntactic features mentioned for multiethnolects in Chapters 3 and 4. The goal of a spot check was merely to confirm the overall presence of features in the 13h of recordings, so that a study of multiethnolect roots in the two districts appeared reasonable, in principle. Hence, it was sufficient to probe the recordings here and there for no longer than 10 minutes. The instances of multiethnolect features that I found were transcribed and marked for school (Nordstadt Elementary = NSE/ Weststadt Elementary = WSE), interview type (I1: background interview/I2: 'emotional' group interview), speaker number (e.g. 21), time in the interview (e.g. 1.34 min), gender (male/female), and the student's home languages (e.g. German/Polish). Specific instances of multiethnolect features are discussed below, following the results from the language questionnaire.

5.5 Results

5.5.1 Language Questionaire

Table 5.4 below contains the results of students' subjective language frequency assessment. The top row (shaded in gray) indicates the language for which participants assigned a frequency value between 1 and 5. The columns are split into the Weststadt and the Nordstadt, respectively, for the use of German and the use of the heritage language. The rows contain the average values participants assigned to certain family members, and their primary interlocutors. The standard deviation next to the average values shows how close together values actually were. The average answer for the family and the primary interlocutors is presented below each group in bold letters.

The frequency with which children claim to be addressed in German in the family shows that they feel there is an increase in the use of German in immigrant homes from the parents to the youngest siblings, while there is a decrease in the use of the heritage language. Younger siblings in the Nordstadt are the exception, with an average frequency of 3.33 for the heritage language, which is more than a point higher than the use of the heritage language by older siblings with 2.18.

Question:	How often does/do your… speak German to you? (1 = hardly ever, 5 = almost always)		How often does/do your … speak the heritage language to you? (1 = hardly ever, 5 = almost always)	
family members:	Nordstadt	Weststadt	Nordstadt	Weststadt
mother	3.5 (s.d. 1.15)	2.67 (s.d. 1.18)	3.5 (s.d. 1.32)	4.14 (s.d. 0.84)
father	2.67 (s.d. 1.23)	3.15 (s.d. 1.02)	3.93 (s.d. 0.1)	3.85 (s.d. 0.96)
older siblings	3.9 (s.d. 0.7)	3.8 (s.d. 1.1)	2.18 (s.d. 0.98)	2.72 (s.d.1.43)
younger siblings	4.75 (s.d. 0.62)	4.25 (s.d. 1.1)	3.33 (s.d. 0.98)	2.31 (s.d.1.43)
Family tally:	**3.62 (s.d. 0.54)**	**3.43 (s.d. 0.67)**	**3.3 (s.d. 0.87)**	**3.25 (s.d. 0.83)**
primary interlocutor I	3.59 (s.d. 1.42)	3.55 (s.d. 1.36)	3.06 (s.d. 1.34)	3.05 (s.d. 1.46)
primary interlocutor II	3.93 (s.d. 1.33)	4.15 (s.d. 1.20)	2.73 (s.d. 1.58)	2.1 (s.d. 1.31)
primary interlocutor III	2.89 (s.d. 1.69)	3.71 (s.d. 1.19)	3.8 (s.d. 1.48)	2.94 (s.d. 1.41)
Primary communication:	**3.56 (s.d. 1.47)**	**3.81 (s.d. 1.29)**	**3.12 (s.d. 1.48)**	**2.68 (s.d. 1.47)**

Table 5.4: Students' frequency rating of (unidirectional) use of German and the heritage language

At the same time, the value younger siblings in the Nordstadt receive for speaking German is overall the highest (4.75), meaning that younger siblings almost always use German in conversation with my participants. Most importantly, parents do not score low on their use of German: students find their parents speaking some variety of German with

them about half the time. In the Nordstadt the obvious increase in German goes along with a decrease in standard deviation, which could mean that the use of German stabilizes in the perception of interviewees with each generation. In the Weststadt this trend is not as clear. Overall, it should be noted that the standard deviations are rather on the high side, meaning that there also are substantial differences within the age groups. From the family data alone, it is difficult to see which language is usually dominant in the families.

The family tallys of German and the heritage language differ marginally in the Nordstadt (German = 3.62, heritage language = 3.3), and in the Weststadt (German = 3.42, heritage language = 3.25). Higher standard deviations for the heritage language in both neighborhoods suggest that overall there is more variation in the use of the heritage language than in the use of German. It is safe to say that the frequency with which German occurs in my participants' environment is more stable, and that German is no less important than the heritage language in the families.

A better approximation of the role of German in the life of my participants is offered by the values they assign to their primary interlocutors after school. In line with the claims researchers make with regard to peer-groups and youth languages (see Chapter 3), I expected to find a stronger emphasis on friends in this category. However, for my multilingual speakers, friends play a limited role as primary interlocutors after school. Only two speakers mentioned a friend as the main interlocutor after school. Rather, mothers (44%), older siblings (18%), fathers (15%), and younger siblings (15%) are most important. The second most important interlocutors are mothers (23%), friends (22%),

older siblings (22%), younger siblings (13%), fathers (10%) and extended family members (5%). Two students indicated no second most important interlocutor (5%). The third most important interlocutors are fathers (23%), mothers (13%), older siblings (13%), younger siblings (8%), friends (8%) and extended family members (5%). Twelve participants told me that they had no third person they interacted with as much as with the first two (31%).

While keeping in mind that standard deviations are higher throughout the second part of the table, it is clear that the numeric values my participants assign to their primary interlocutors express a growing preference for German. German plays a slightly more important role than the heritage language in the group of the first most important interlocutors. Note that family members absolutely dominate this group, with mothers being the most frequent interlocutors after school. For the group of the second most important interlocutors, German is even more important. It seems that the role of friends contributes to this outcome. It is not the most important contributing group, however, because even here the family dominates my participants' perceived language environment. With the third most important interlocutors the preference finally shifts to the heritage language as the more frequent language. Note that fathers dominate this group. In a direct comparison of my participants' average family tally and the values they indicate for primary communication, we see that the slight advantage for German in the Nordstadt remains the trend. In the Weststadt, this trend increases beyond doubt, with 3.81 points for German and 2.68 points for the heritage language in primary communication after school.

While there is a clear trend towards German, numbers also speak to the importance that heritage languages hold in the eyes and ears of my participants. During the later parts of the first interview, and during the second interview (more emotional interviews) students emphasized that German and the heritage language occupied different realms in their lives. Some examples will suffice to show what this means: four girls of Turkish descent, for instance, indicated that they count and dream in German, pray in Turkish, and use both languages when thinking (NSE-I2-24-25-22-24, 9.15 min). By contrast, a boy with a Thai mother and an Indonesian father reported to count, think and pray in German, adding that he attends weekly religious services at a German-speaking church (NSE-I2-4, 20 min). These examples point to the importance that institutions such as the school, the mosque, the Polish Catholic community, Turkish folklore groups, or other community meeting points have, linguistically speaking. Different institutions were often described as monolingual: German is the language of school (except for language instruction in Turkish), while Turkish and Arabic are taught at the mosque, and community gatherings of the Asian and African communities serve to reconnect students to the heritage languages. In addition, my participants travel frequently to the home countries of their parents, where German plays a minor role or no role at all.

Having shown that family members dominate the communication after school in the perception of my participants, and that families use German with each other, we can now proceed to ask what this type of German may look like. Table 5.5 presents the results of the school grades students gave each family member. The group that speaks the ‘best

German' in my participants' opinion is older siblings, followed by parents and younger siblings, with higher standard deviations. The values across neighborhoods are similar. Overall, the numbers seem to indicate that students do not view the German that dominates at home as 'very good'. I take this to mean that it is not the Standard German taught at school.

With regard to the heritage language, the pattern is that parents' command of their own language receives an overall better rating than their command of German, and siblings' command of the heritage language receives an overall lower rating than their parents. More importantly, siblings' heritage language ratings are consistently lower than what they receive for German.

Question:	How well does/do your… speak German? (1=very good, 5=deficient)		How well does/do your… speak your heritage language? (1=very good, 5=deficient)	
family members:	Nordstadt	Weststadt	Nordstadt	Weststadt
mother	1.94 (s.d. 0.97)	2.14 (s.d. 1.24)	1.35 (s.d. 0.61)	1 (s.d. 0.07)
father	2.5 (s.d. 1.1)	2 (s.d. 1.05)	1.25 (s.d. 0.58)	1.32 (s.d. 0.7)
older siblings	1.17 (s.d. 0.39)	1.22 (s.d. 0.4)	1.75 (s.d. 1.06)	1.83 (s.d. 0.76)
younger siblings	2.15 (s.d. 0.99)	2.19 (s.d. 1.11)	2.69 (s.d. 1.03)	3.06 (s.d. 1.16)
Family tally:	**2.02 (s.d. 0.5)**	**1.84 (s.d 0.64)**	**1.74 (s.d. 0.4)**	**1.71 (s.d. 0.45)**

Table 5.5: Students' rating of quality of German and the heritage language.

Students' self-assessment in German and the hertitage language are presented in Table 5.6. German receives the average grade of 1.58 (s.d. 0.59)**.** The heritage language

is graded with 1.88 (s.d. 0.66) on average. The values do not differ substantially across neighborhoods. Both languages appear to be relevant in the lives of students.

What school grade would you give yourself in German? (1=very good, 5=deficient)			What school grade would you give yourself in your heritage language? (1=very good, 5=deficient)		
Nordstadt	Weststadt	Together	Nordstadt	Weststadt	Together
1.59 (s.d. 0.73)	**1.61 (s.d. 0.45)**	**1.58 (s.d. 0.59)**	**1.85 (s.d. 0.82)**	**1.92 (s.d. 0.49)**	**1.88 (s.d. 0.66)**

Table 5.6: Students' self-rating in German, the heritage language.

As noted above, Pfaff (2012) finds that code-switching is common practice across generations in immigrant families. When asking my informants about code-switching practices at home, I used the verb *mischen* 'to mix' to refer to the practice. In my experience, it is the term that is colloquially associated with code-switching. Table 5.7, below, shows interesting trends with regard to 'mixing': first, as expected, it is present as a practice in both neighborhoods. However, the majority of participants indicate they mix neither in the family nor with primary interlocutors. Surprisingly, my participants identify their parents as the most frequent language mixers. One could think that this is might be due to negative connotations of mixing, as equivalent to speaking 'bad German'. However, such an interpretation is not supported by my participants self-description: they indicate being more prone mix themselves when speaking to their parents, so that code- seems to be the practice that parents engage in and that is associated with parent communication, rather than talk between the youngest generations in the house. Given the possibility that

Hinnenkamp (2005) and others possibly describe the parent generation in its youth, this might not be as surprising as would first seem.

Question:	How often does/do your… mix languages in conversation you? (1 = hardly ever, 5 = almost always)		How often do you mix languages in conversation with your… ? (1 = hardly ever, 5 = almost always)	
family members:	Nordstadt	Weststadt	Nordstadt	Weststadt
Mother	1.93 (s.d. 0.1)	2.71 (s.d. 1.13)	1.63 (s.d. 0.96)	2.58 (s.d. 1.16)
Father	1.57 (s.d. 1.02)	1.93 (s.d. 0.1)	1.93 (s.d. 1.39)	2.35 (s.d. 1.14)
older siblings	1.72 (s.d. 1)	2.18 (s.d. 1.05)	1.36 (s.d. 0.81)	1.4 (s.d. 0.6)
younger siblings	2.1 (s.d. 1.1)	1.87 (s.d. 1.14)	1.62 (s.d. 1.12)	1.9 (s.d. 0.8)
Family tally:	**1.76 (s.d. 0.81)**	**2.23 (s.d. 0.7)**	**1.66 (s.d. 0.81)**	**2.12 (s.d. 0.79)**
primary interlocutor I	1.5 (s.d. 0.76)	2.21 (s.d. 1.02)	NA	NA
primary interlocutor II	1.36 (s.d. 0.92)	1.7 (s.d. 0.96)	NA	NA
primary interlocutor III	1.22 (s.d. 0.44)	2.33 (s.d. 1.28)	NA	NA
Primary communication:	**1.38 (s.d. 0.74)**	**2.06 (s.d. 1.11)**	NA	NA

Table 5.7: Students' frequency rating of bidirectional mixing of German and the heritage language.

Another trend with regard to mixing is that students in the WSE report mixing more often than those in the NSE, in both family communication and primary communication. That parents mix more is also reflected by the higher values of mixing for primary interlocutors, since mothers and fathers are a majority among the primary interlocutor group. Students indicated roughly the same mixing values for their parents at these two

different points during the language questionnaire, which further strengthens the reliability of the data.

5.5.2 SPEAKER RECORDINGS

The spot check of the recordings revealed a number of morphosyntactic features in the interviews with students that match the multiethnolect descriptions in Chapter 3. Among them are non-standard inflectional morphology, non-standard gender assignment, omissions of various kinds, as well as evidence of features discussed in Wiese's (2009) work, namely the focus marker *so* and the new existential marker *gibs*. The following sub-subsections present selected examples from the data.[72]

5.5.2.1 Non-Standard Inflectional Morphology and Gender Assignment

As laid out in Chapter 3, a common characteristic of multiethnolects across Europe is non-standard inflectional morphology and a variability of grammatical gender. The German studies reviewed in Chapters 3 and 4 also provided evidence of non-standard inflection and gender assignment. Such features are also common in the recordings of my speakers. Example (5.1) shows that case assignment can be non-standard: In Standard German we would expect accusative case marking for *diese Sommerferien* 'this summer vacation', and not dative plural marking on the determiner *diese-n* 'these-DAT'. Another possible interpretation of this sentence is that the student was trying to render a plural in the singular, which is not possible with *Ferien* 'vacation' in German. Also, *Eltern* 'parents', in example

[72] For more examples see Appendix C.

(5.2), would be expected to be dative marked due to the preposition *von* 'of', but the possessive pronoun *mein-e* 'my-ACC' is accusative marked.

(5.1)	***aber***	***diese-n***	***sommerferien***	***werden***	***wir***	***auch***	***hinfahren***
	But	these-DAT	summer.vacation.PL	FUT	we	too	go.there
	Aber	*diese*	*Sommerferien*	*...*			
	But	these.NOM	summer.vacation.PL	…			

'But this summer (vacation) we will go there, too'.
(WSE-I1-50, 8.42: female, German/Aramaic)

(5.2)	***du***	***lernst***	***Koran***	***wahrscheinlich,***	***ne?***	-	***ja, aber***
	You	study	Koran	probably,	right?		Yes, but
	von	***mein-e***	***eltern***	***aber***	***nur.***		
	from	my-ACC.p	parents	but	only.		
	von	*mein-en*	*Eltern*	*aber*	*nur.*		
	from	my-DAT.p	parents	but	only.		

'You probably study the Koran, right?' –
'Yes, but only with my parents'. (WSE -I1-47, 4.05: male, German/Turkish)

Next, consider example (5.3), which possibly contains evidence of the variability in grammatical gender assignment that many studies cited in Chapters 3 and 4 referred to. When used as a relative pronoun in Standard German, *was* 'what' cannot refer to a feminine head noun. Gender variability in this specific construction is not unique to the multiethnolect, however, because it is possible for *was* in many dialects of German to refer to a head noun regardless of gender. More examples of gender variability are discussed in Chapter 7.

(5.3) ***weil*** ***ich*** ***hab*** ***nur*** ***fünf*** ***freund-innen***
Because I have only five friends-f.p

Weil *ich* *hab* *nur* *fünf* *Freund-innen*
Because I have only five friends-f.p

was ***polnisch*** ***sprechen***

DET.n.s Polish speak.

die polnisch sprechen

DET.p Polish speak.

'Because I only have five female friends that speak Polish'.
(WSE-I1-73, 2.25: female German/Polish)

5.5.2.2 Omissions

The omissions of parts of speech such as articles, prepositions and pronouns were listed in several studies in Chapter 3 as prototypical for the German multiethnolect (cf. Füglein 2000, Auer 2003, Dirim & Auer 2004, Keim 2007). Examples in my recordings are omissions of an indefinite article in example (5.4) where standard German would require *eine* 'a' (female), or the omission of a definite article in example (5.5) in the phrase *in Kino* 'to the movies' (neuter) where standard German would require *ins*, short for *in das* 'to the'.

(5.4) ***letztes*** ***Mal*** ***hatte*** ***ich*** ***hauptempfehlung…***
Last.n.s time had I recommendation.for.*Hauptschule*

Letztes *Mal* *hatte* *ich* *eine* *Haupt(schul)empfehlung…*
Last.n.s time had I a.f recommendation.for.*Hauptschule*

'Last time I had a recommendation for *Hauptschule*'. (WSE-I2-41, 2.45 min: female, German/Turkish)

(5.5) ***wenn*** ***schönes*** ***wetter*** ***ist*** ***fahren*** ***wir*** ***vielleicht***
If nice-n.s weather is drive we maybe

ins ***schwimmbad*** ***wenn*** ***so*** ***mittelmäßig*** ***ist*** ***fahren*** ***wir***
to.the pool if kind.of mediocre is drive we

in ***kino*** ***wenn*** ***wir*** ***wollen.***
to movies if we like.

...wenn *es* *so* *mittelmäßig* *ist* *fahren* *wir* *ins Kino...*
…if it FOC mediocre COP drive we to.DET movies…
'If it is nice weather we may go to the pool, if it's kind of mediocre we'll go to the movies, if we like'. (WSE –I1-74, 14.47 min: female, German/Russian)

For some speakers the features occur more frequently than for others. Within only a minute of conversation with my assistant, one speaker omitted a preposition (*bei* 'at'), a definite article (*den* 'the') and a preposition with an article (*an den* 'on the') in example (5.6).

(5.6) ***ich*** ***war*** ***mal*** ***Schüler VZ,***
I was once Schüler VZ,

Ich *war* *mal* *<u>bei</u> Schüler VZ,*
I was once on Schüler VZ,

aber ***jetzt*** ***ich*** ***bin*** ***keine*** ***mehr…***
but now I am not.DET anymore

aber *jetzt* *bin* *ich* *<u>bei</u> keiner* *mehr…*
but now am I with none.f anymore

…weil ***ich*** ***bildschirm*** ***geschrottet*** ***habe…***
…because I screen trash have…

...weil *ich* *den* *Bildschirm* *geschrottet* *habe…*
because I the screen trash have.

…ich ***darf*** ***laptop*** ***nicht*** ***ran…***
...I may laptop not DIR…

...ich *darf* *an den* *Laptop* *nicht* *ran.*
…I may on the laptop not DIR.

'I used to be with Schüler VZ, but now I am with none anymore... because I trashed the screen... I am not allowed to get on the laptop'.
(NSE-I1-18, 23:20 min: male, German/Turkish)

Other types of omissions in the data are more complex: (5.7) shows an example in which multiple parts of speech are missing: the grammatical construction *wenn schlecht Abschnitt* literally means 'if bad performance' and is missing the pronoun, article and verb of the subordinate clause. In addition, the adjective is missing the accusative morphology that would be present in other German varieties.

(5.7) ***beim*** ***ersten*** ***test schon*** ***wenn*** ***schlecht*** ***abschnitt***
At first test already if bad score

wirst ***du*** ***gleich*** ***rausgeworfen***
AUX you immediately kicked.out

Beim *ersten* *Test schon* *wenn* *du* *ein-en* *schlechten*
At first test already if du a-m.ACC bad.ACC

Abschnitt *hast…*
score have

'If you already score bad on your first test you are immediately kicked out'. (NSE –I2-20, 4.45 min: male, German/Albanian)

5.5.2.3 Other Features

A few other features also point to a multiethnolect in my sample. Wiese (2009) mentions that the deletion of articles in *Kiezdeutsch* often co-occurs with a new focus construction in which *so* is the focus marker. Auer (2013) argues that *so* as a focus marker is in fact a general phenomenon in German today and not specific to any ethnolect. The omission of an article in combination with the new focus particle as in (5.85.5.), however, appears to be atypical in constructions of other German varieties.

(5.8) ***sie*** ***holt*** ***so*** ***spiel*** ***raus*** ***und*** ***dann*** ***spielen*** ***wir.***
She get.out.fs FOC game out and then play we

'She gets out a game, like, and then we play'. (WSE –I1-74, 14.47 min: female, German/Russian)

Finally, the new existential *gibs* 'there is' surfaces in my data, as illustrated in example (5.9). Wiese (2009, 2012) and Wiese & Duda (2012) provide an initial investigation of this new existential. The feature is not consistently reported in the earlier literature on multiethnolects and appears to be of fairly recent origin. During my ethnographic

observations in the Nordstadt I heard the feature several times used by speakers of different migration backgrounds.

(5.9) *es gibt* *ja* *nicht* *so* *viele* *Albaner* *auf dieser schule* -
There.are EMPH not so many Albanians at this school
'There are not so many Albanians at this school'. –

es gibs ***gar*** ***keine*** ***Albaner!***
There.are absolutely no.p Albanians

Es gibt *gar* *keine* *Albaner*
'There are absolutely no Albanians'.
(NSE –I2-20, 8.00 min: male, German/Albanian)

Three preliminary trends emerge from the examples listed above: first, the non-standard features exclusively surface among students of migrant descent, while the speech of students without migrant descent revealed no outstanding features during this initial data check. I only noticed instances of omissions by monolingual Germans later, during my ethnographic portray of the districts (see Chapter 8). Second, a first impression was that speakers who exhibit more features also employ a larger range of features. For instance, the only examples of the *gibs* – existential emerged in conversation with a speaker of Albanian descent who also omitted articles frequently and used non-standard inflections several times.

5.6 Summary and Discussion

In this chapter I introduced three methodological measures that are crucial for thoroughly studying the roots of multiethnolects. Besides the common practice of collecting regular speaker metadata, such as age, language backgrounds etc. researchers need to get a better understanding of the broader social and linguistic landscape in which multiethnolects thrive – especially the environment children grow up in. In a quantitative study, such additional information is best elicited with help of speaker evaluations, a questionnaire and census data. I also took speech probes to check for multiethnolect features in my data, in order to ensure that the locale for my study was reasonably chosen. Less formal communicative situations, such as narratives, reveal such features more readily than the formal interviews.

As a result of these measures I found that German is stabilizing as a family language in the homes of the multilingual children that participated in the Nordstadt and Weststadt of Braunschweig. Findings suggest that there is a gradual shift to German, particulary among younger family members. However, parents also use German frequently. Contrary to the assumptions of non-nativeness and non-transmission, the data shows that my participants are exposed to German at home by all caregivers. Almost with certainty, this exposure involves non-standard varieties of German, because most multilingual participants assign their family school grades for German below the best possible rating.

In line with findings by Chlosta & Ostermann (2005), a comparison of the overall self-assessment between the heritage language and German reveals that the proficiency in German is rated higher than heritage language proficiency in both districts. Most students

see themselves as dominant in German (while the variety each student is referencing may differ). At the same time, my findings indicate that the heritage languages remain strong. In both districts, they continue to occupy social space in and beyond the home, e.g. in religious and cultural institutions, as well as other networks.

Overall, students describe their language environment in a way that is compatible with Dittmar's (2013) language shower or Mufwene's (2001) feature pool: while German is firmly rooted in family life, participants also feel there are substantial qualitative differences across age groups, and within age groups. A remarkable finding is that deliberate language mixing is evidently more salient in communication with parents than with younger family members, for instance. Previous findings on code-switching see mixing as typical of the younger generations (e.g. Hinnenkamp 2005). Here, we observe that mixing practices are more common in the parent generation. An explanation may be that the parents of the children in my sample often represent G1.5 and early G2, and that mixing was the communicative mode they grew up with in their own peer interactions. It could be expected that mixing practices decrease in younger generations if language shift from the heritage language to German is under way.

Another finding in line with this process is that, according to my interviewees, younger siblings speak German most often. However, they also are those who represent the 'worst' German in the household, while older siblings and even parents are rated 'better'. This could be an age-related finding, or it could be reflective of the acquisition situation that is

typical of multiethnolects: the various input varieties lead to substantial variability in early childhood that only levels out later in life.

With regard to variability in my actual language data, I found variation of standard and non-standard inflection and gender assignment, as well as a number of omissions of articles, pronouns and prepositions. We can safely assume that several of my participants use these non-standard features naturally, albeit occasionally. Since my participants are children on the verge to adolescence, and all interview situations (including the narratives) were rather formal, it is notable that the features surfaced in the data in first place. They appear to be firmly rooted in my participants' repertoire.

This chapter serves as the backbone of my further investigations in Chapters 6 and 7. In the next chapter, I investigate characteristics of my participants' lexicon and systematically relate them to the background factors elicited in this chapter. Then I proceed to analyze the morphosyntactic properties of my speakers' German, again relating them to the background factors in Chapter 7. I suggest a preliminary model of multiethnolect feature relations and roots, suggesting a different perspective on the nature and origin of multiethnolect speech practices. Chapter 8 contextualizes my findings with ethnographic observations as well as interviews with inhabitants and educational workers in the districts.

6. THE LEXICON OF MULTIETHNOLECT SPEAKERS

6.1 Introduction

Most studies of multiethnolects – whether they treat the phenomenon as a style or a variety – place features in prosody, phonology, morphology and syntax at the center of their description and analysis. The literature reviews in Chapters 3 and 4 were specifically tailored towards a comparison of morphosyntactic features across generations of speakers, because (together with phonetics and phonology) these levels of language received the most attention so far. With regard to these features, Auer (2013:31) makes the point that the earliest studies of non-standard features among children already make (cf. Pfaff 1981, 1984): the most obvious and stereotypical features of multiethnolects are not as numerically prominent as one might think. Only 9.1% of all prepositions are omitted, for instance, in data from teenage multiethnolect speakers in Stuttgart. Omissions of articles only rank slightly higher with 12.9 % of all indefinite and 16.1 % of all definite articles missing (ibid:34f). In light of these numbers, it seems unsurprising that many studies come to the conclusion that multiethnolects are mainly a stylistic occurrence, representative of a fleeting youth language register or a speaker choice of temporary nature.

The main point I make in this chapter is that an assessment limited to phonological and morphosyntactic features, and to omissions in particular, only scratches at the surface of multiethnolects, missing their actual scope and depth. To do so, I further investigate a part of the lexicon of speakers that recently drew attention due to work by Goschler et al. (2013)

who showed that multiethnolect speakers of Turkish background use German motion verbs differently from monolingual multiethnolect speakers. It is not clear whether this difference is due to structural influences from language contact or due to distinct characteristics in the content of the motion verb lexicon in Turkish and German. I will therefore concentrate on examining the lexical scope and structure of the motion verb lexicon of my participants, before relating the findings to social factors in the background data discussed in Chapter 5. These steps also serve as a preparation for the morphosyntactic analysis in Chapter 7.

Section 6.2 of this chapter reviews the relevant literature showing that the lexical scope resulting from early, untutored language acquisition is limited and consists of a core lexicon with high semantic flexibility. The scope of the verb lexicon, in particular, is an important measure of lexical scope and German descriptive verbs have characteristics that make them a useful word class for testing. Free-sorting is a testing method from research on linguistic relativity that can be applied to such verb fields. Section 6.3 shows how I applied the free-sorting method to German motion verbs, and introduces the test I conducted with participants in Braunschweig. In Section 6.4, I present the results: sorting patterns by district and speaker background, and regression models that suggest which social and linguistic factors best account for the detected patterns. Section 6.5 contains a structured elicitation of feedback from certain participants, which helped me interpret results in a more meaningful way. Section 6.6 concludes the chapter.

6.2 Migration, Language Contact, and Lexical Change

6.2.1 Lexical Contraction and Semantic Expansion

Studies of untutored second language acquisition, of bilingual language acquisition, and of recent developments in the multiethnolect briefly mention changes in the relationship between the lexicon and semantic concepts.[73] For instance, Meisel (1975) notes a contraction of the verbal lexicon in learner varieties and foreigner talk at the cost of semantic precision:

> Another common linguistic characteristic of both varieties is the preference given to words that one may call 'simple' or following Ferguson […] possibly also 'unmarked'. It is naturally easier to document this in the 'translation tasks' into the foreigner talk register than in the speech of foreigners, since only tests unambiguously show what a specific lexical element stands for. After all, the usage of verbs such as *tun* ['to do'], *machen* ['to do, make'], *gehen* ['to go'] etc. is salient, if other colloquial verbs could also be used for them that would more precisely express the manner of an action or motion (*rennen* ['to run'], *fahren* ['to drive'] etc.).[74] (Meisel 1975:36)

A limited lexicon among untutored learners is also documented in Orlović-Schwarzwald (1978) and Keim (1978): among the numerous verbs with strong stem inflection in German, Orlović-Schwarzwald (1978:101) finds her Yugoslavian speakers use mainly the verbs *gehen* 'to go', *kommen* 'to come', *sprechen* 'to speak', *sehen* 'to see', and *verstehen* 'to understand', while Keim (1978:110) writes that her male speakers use the verbs *arbeiten* 'to work', *bleiben* 'to stay', *geben* 'to give', *kommen* 'to come', *gucken*

[73] For an introduction of the following authors and studies, see Chapters 3 on multiethnolects, Subsection 3.3.2, and Chapter 4 on adult learner varieties and bilingual language acquisition, Subsection 4.2.1.

[74] Ein weiteres beiden Varietäten gemeinsames sprachliches Merkmal ist die Bevorzugung von Wörtern, die man „einfach', nach Ferguson [...] eventuell auch „unmarked' nennen könnte. Das ist natürlich leichter nachzuweisen bei den „Übersetungstests' ins Ausländerregister als in den Äußerungen der Ausländer, da nur beim Test eindeutig ist, wofür ein bestimmtes lexikalisches Element steht. Immerhin ist die Verwendung von Verben wie *tun, machen, gehen* etc. auffällig, wenn dafür auch in der Umgangssprache übliche Verben stehen könnten, die die Art der Tätigkeit bzw. der Bewegung präzisieren (*rennen, fahren* etc.).

'to look', *haben* 'to have', *laufen* 'to go, walk', *machen* 'to do, to make' *sprechen* 'speak', *sein* 'to be'. All these verbs are also frequent in spoken German as a frequency dictionary shows (cf. Ruoff 1981).

Later studies show that these generic verb forms appear to expand with regard to what they can meaningfully express. Pfaff (1981b:175) reports 'certain lexical expansion processes characteristic of the development of creoles' and exemplifies this with the extension of *gehen* 'to go, walk' to the meaning of 'to become' as in example (6.1), below. She further notes that this expansion of meaning occurs particularly with students that are more isolated: 'the more integrated Turkish and Greek [speakers] show less evidence of metaphorical extension of known words to fill lexical gaps' (Pfaff 1981b:175).

(6.1) ***die*** ***geht*** ***ja*** ***groß!***
DET.3sf go.3s EMPH large
Die wird ja gross!
'Look! She is becoming large!' (Pfaff 1981b:175)

Of the multiethnolect studies surveyed in Chapter 3, Füglein (2000), Keim (2007) and Wiese (2009) also mention semantic expansion in the German of their participants. Füglein's (2000) speakers combine *gegangen*, the past participle of the verb *gehen* 'to go', with adjectives, thereby creating compound predicates with a new meaning in German. The three constructions below in examples (6.2a-b) for instance, are uncommon in Standard German, and its regional dialects.

(6.2) a. ***Schrott gegangen***
junk went
as in 'it broke'

b. ***tot gegangen***
dead went
as in 'it died'

c. ***dumm gegangen***
stupid went
as in 'went crazy'

(Füglein 2000:793)

Keim (2007:231) mentions a high frequency of manner-neutral verbs such as *gehen* 'to go, walk', *kommen* 'to come' and *machen* 'to do' and also notes semantic extension of these verbs. Wiese (2009:793) elaborates on the use of the verbs *machen* 'to do', *haben* 'to have', and *sein* 'to be' in *Kiezdeutsch*, explaining that often the pragmatic context determines the semantic content of these verbs in conjunction with more meaningful noun phrases. Phrase (6.3), below, is an example. The verb *machen* 'to do, make' with its very general semantic content co-occurs with the noun *ampel* 'traffic light', which conveys the actual conceptual meaning of the phrase. Similarities exist, according to Wiese (2009:796), to light verb constructions in German, Turkish or Persian, which draw from pragmatic context or create a grammatical context for embedding new loan words.

(6.3) ***machstu rote ampel.***
do.2s red light

Du überquerst eine rote Ampel.
'You are crossing at the red light'. (Wiese 2009:793)

In summary, it appears that unguided language learning leads to a reduced lexicon, and that the scope of concepts that certain words refer to expands both in unguided learner varieties, but also in multiethnolect speech. The question arises, however, whether making

these observations only for the verb lexicon tells us anything about the lexicon more generally speaking.

Research by Broeder et al. (1989) within the *European Science Foundation Second Language* study of unguided learner varieties offers a reason why the verb lexicon should be of particular interest. Their project begins by noting that the type-token ratio, a measure that researchers of second language acquisition widely used to gauge lexical richness at the time (cf. Biehl 1987: 173), is a highly problematic measure for several reasons: first, type-token ratios are unable to discriminate between vastly different stages of language development in children (cf. Richardson 1987). Second, the number of tokens varies considerably across texts, leading the authors to conclude that 'the type/token ratio is already a questionable measure for texts produced by fully proficient speakers, but certainly in language acquisition research this measure has to be rejected as a proficiency measure' (Broeder et al. 1993). As alternative measures of proficiency and lexical richness, the authors suggest the so-called *index of Guiraud*, that is, squaring the overall number of words in the type/token ratio ($V/\sqrt{N}$) and the so-called *Theoretical Vocabulary*, which is the expected number of types given the specific amount of tokens in a text.[75] After completing the analysis of a number of film-retellings and free conversations with these measures, Broeder et al. (1993) discovered that the overall number of verb tokens – out of

[75] Since the *index of Guiraud* remains tied to the length of a given text, the *Theoretical Vocabulary* appears to be the more preferable measure, according to Broeder et al. (1993).

all word classes investigated – stands out as correlating significantly with the index of Guiraud and the Theoretical Vocabulary:

> A relative increase in verb lemmas and in the number of verb tokens is correlated to an increase in lexical richness. This result supports the idea that verbs have a crucial role in the overall development of the lexicon, also in the case of spontaneous acquisition by adults. (Broeder et al. 1993: 157f)

Given this finding, the verb lexicon of speakers who potentially acquired their vocabulary in an environment under substantial influence of untutored learner varieties is of special interest. In the German context, I hope to produce an impression of the lexical richness of speakers in West and North Braunschweig with the help of so-called descriptive verbs. Many of these fall into the realm of motion verbs, mentioned by previous authors.

6.2.2 Descriptive Verbs and Event Structure

6.2.2.1 German Descriptive Verbs

Like English, German possesses a rich lexicon of so-called descriptive verbs, that is, verbs that highlight the manner in which an action is performed over the mere event. The term 'descriptive verbs' goes back to a study by Snell-Hornby (1983:15) who compared these verbs that 'describe rather than state an action' in German and English. According to her, descriptive verbs possess a core called 'act-nucleus', and a descriptive, modifying complex of elements, termed the 'modificant'. The non-core elements can be semantically extracted from the core. E.g., example (6.4) can be restated as (6.5), thereby decomposing the descriptive verb into its nucleus and modificant:

(6.4) *Der* *Mann* *schleicht.*
the.m man sneaks.
'The man is **sneaking'.**

(6.5) *Der* *Mann* *bewegt sich* *leise,* *vorsichtig* *und* *langsam.*
the.m man move himself quietly carefully and slowly.
'The man is moving quietly, carefully and slowly'.

Leise 'quiet'*, vorsichtig* 'careful' and *langsam* 'slowly' represent components of the modificant in (6.5). This decomposition showcases an instance of 'direct' and of 'indirect descriptivity', as follows: when the action itself is subject to a modified description, e.g. by the 'quietness' of motion, it is directly modified. The word *vorsichtig*, however, indirectly describes the action through an agent who is moving with care. The direct and indirect perspectives can thus evidently be combined in the modificant of a descriptive verb. With many descriptive verbs these borders of modification are hazy, and interdependent components of meaning merge in the process of modification. Crucially, modificants are therefore always subject to the speaker's judgment and perception: there is no single possible interpretation of a modification. With regard to motion verbs, Snell-Hornby notes, for instance:

> The speed norm is among the most common of such individually set norms in verb-descriptivity, whether the action is experienced as being slow, as with *dawdle*, *trödeln*, *plod* and *bummeln*, or as being excessively fast, as with *rush*, *dash*, *rasen* and *sausen*. (Snell-Hornby 1983:38)

In other words, how a speaker actually perceives the speed of a motion event influences their description of the event. Accordingly, individual speakers could employ different descriptive verbs for the same event or interpret the same descriptive verb in a different

way.[76] The next sub-subsection discusses a recent study of the way speakers in the *Kiezdeutsch Corpus* describe motion events which points to systematic differences in how multiethnolect speakers perceive and encode such events.

6.2.2.2 Motion Events in Multiethnolect Speech

In order to understand where a possible shift in perception and description of motion events could originate, it is important to mention that verb descriptivity is not shared by all languages to the same extent. In fact, in the linguistic landscape of some immigrant neighborhoods, German is alone with its properties in this regard. Turkish, for instance, does not have a large lexicon of descriptive motion verbs. Roughly speaking, Turkish and German fall into two categories of a typology with regard to the way they map conceptual structure of events onto syntactic structure. Crucially, and 'to characterize it initially in broad strokes, the typology consists of whether the core schema […] is expressed by the main verb or by the satellite' (Talmy 2000:221, quoted in Woerfel 2011). More specifically, German typically encodes the semantics of motion and manner in the verb stem, while directional information usually lies outside in a prepositional phrase and an additional particle or satellite (S-language). Turkish, by contrast, encodes directional

[76] At the same time, there are core notions of perception that supersede individual nuances of perception. Their existence is clear because communication would be dysfunctional without agreed upon categories, and because different perceptions could not be communicated without some shared cognitive or cultural background. This is the paradox of relativity research. Core notions could have their origin in acquisition, a certain predisposition or in a universally structured cognition. This discussion would exceed the scope of my dissertation, however. An important point for this chapter with regard to core notions is that when human descriptions of the same event diverge and borders of our shared semantic notions are called into question, there still is a common conceptual ground.

information directly in the verb stem and in a case marker on the noun (V-language). The manner of a motion is optionally expressed by an adverb.

Table 6.1., below, illustrates the different distributions: in German, the verb *schleichen* 'to sneak' clearly modifies the manner of motion, as discussed in the previous sub-subsection. The prepositional phrase *aus dem Haus* 'out of the house' and the particle *hinaus* 'out' contain all directional information. In Turkish the verb *girdi* 'went' expresses the main direction of the motion together with the dative morpheme *–e*. The adjective *gizlice* 'secretly' modifies the manner of the motion event. In Turkish, there is no verb for *schleichen* 'to sneak'. Adding a manner description with the help of an adverb, as in *gizlice* 'secretely' is optional.[77]

[77] Readers who are familiar with Turkish might object that Turkish actually has a number of verbs that do encode manner along with motion, as *sekmek* 'to hop', for instance. The difference from German is, however, that these verbs never occur in a directional sense. In German all manner verbs can be optionally supplemented with a direction, if the context of motion calls for it.

German (S-language):						
Grammatical Function:	Subject	predicate (verb)	prepositional object (PP)			particle
Semantic Information:	AGENT	MOTION & MANNER	PATH & SOURCE/GOAL			PATH
	Sie	*schleicht*	*aus*	*dem*	*Haus*	*hinaus.*
	3sf	sneak:3s	out	DEF.DAT	house	out
	'She is sneaking out of the house.					
Turkish (V-language):						
Grammatical Function:	adverb	indirect object	predicate (verb)			
Semantic Information:	MANNER	GOAL & PATH	MOTION & PATH & AGENT			
	gizlice	*ev-e*	*gir-di.*			
	secretly	house-DAT	go.in-PST			
	'She snuck into the house'.					
	Literally: 'She secretly entered the house'.					

	DIRECTION		**MANNER**	**MOTION**
German (S-language):	particle	PP-preposition	Verb	Verb
	hinaus	*aus dem Haus*	*schleicht*	*schleicht*
Turkish (V-language):	verb	indirect object	Adverb	Verb
	girdi	*ev-e*	*gizlice*	*girdi*

Table 6.1: Syntactic-semantic alignment in Turkish and German motion events.

Turkish could exert an influence on German in multilingual environments, if speakers of Turkish adhere to familiar patterns by avoiding manner verbs with directional satellites, or by using verbs that do not encode manner. Whether such an influence exists is the question Schroeder (2009) pursues. In a pilot study of German texts composed by bilinguals, he asks whether there are 'frequent patterns in the verbalization of motion processes that could be connected to the Turkish structure of the verbalization of motion

events' (ibid:190). He then analyzes 67 school texts produced by fifth, sixth and seventh graders, confirming the anticipated patterns: only six motion verbs are present in all texts: *laufen* 'to walk, to run', *rennen* 'to run', *torkeln* 'to stagger', *stolpern* 'to stumble', *kommen* 'to come', and *gehen* 'to go', with a strong preference for generic verbs. Schroeder (2009) further lists three tendencies: first, if the finite verb students employ is *laufen* 'to walk, to run', *rennen* 'to run', *torkeln* 'to stagger', or *stolpern* 'to stumble' – that is, if they use a verb in which manner is encoded – then they avoid including information on the direction of a movement. Second, all motion events involving a direction feature the generic verbs *kommen* 'to come' and *gehen* 'to go'. The third tendency he observes is that descriptions of motion that involve a direction, simultaneously avoid modifications of the manner in which the motion occurs, even in form of attributes. Schroeder (2009) concludes that all three tendencies are possible indications of a Turkish influence: the first tendency would be a structural inhibition applying to V-languages, namely that information of direction is not encoded together with manner. The second tendency is a preferred deictic interpretation of *kommen* 'to come' and *gehen* 'to go'. Students use the verbs used in their capacity of directional verbs, because they are missing the directional verbs of a V-language. The third tendency underlines the separation of manner and trajectory. Schroeder (2009:197) mentions other possible interpretations of the data, such as a transfer from spoken German to written German and the possibility that 'we are possibly dealing with transfer of the ethnolect of Turkish youth in Germany on the written language'. Without control data, however, none of these options are substantiated.

Woerfel (2011) takes on the task of investigating motion events in natural speech data more closely. His unpublished Master's thesis is based on a subset of Wiese's *Kiezdeutsch Corpus* (see Chapter 3) containing multiethnolect data of 5 German-Turkish bilinguals, 2 German-Kurdish bilinguals and 2 monolingual Germans from the multiethnic neighborhood of Kreuzberg (approximately 35 of 50 hours of transcripts), as well as speech recordings of six monolingual German adolescents from Hellersdorf, a monoethnic neighborhood (approximately 12 of 18 hours of transcripts).[78] He notes that his bilingual speakers learned German early enough to achieve native-like fluency. For his analysis he uses 42 verbs from the corpus and divides them into 3 verb conflation types. He differentiates manner-encoding verbs (e.g. *laufen* 'to walk, to run', *rennen* 'to run'), path-encoding (e.g. *verpissen* 'to piss off', *abhauen* 'to skedaddle') and the generic verbs *gehen* 'to go' and *kommen* 'to come'.[79] Speakers from Kreuzberg use 24 manner, 3 path-encoding and the 2 generic verbs, the speakers from Hellersdorf use 20 manner, 3 path encoding and the 2 generic verbs (Woerfel 2011:86). The distribution of the frequency of usage differs between speakers from Kreuzberg and speakers from Hellersdorf (ibid:87). Table 6.2 shows that manner verbs are more frequently used in Hellersdorf (44% vs. 31%, 19% and 23%) and generic verbs are more frequent in the data from Kreuzberg (66%, 71%, 63% vs. 53%). Directional verbs are overall uncommon. A comparison of the subgroups reveals

[78] The number of words in the transcripts is not indicated in Woerfel (2011).

[79] By 'generic' Woerfel (2011) and Goschler et al (2013) appear to mean verbs that only express motion without denoting manner or direction. Since *gehen* 'to go' and *kommen* 'to come' do have a directional sense in German (as they do in English) and *laufen* 'to walk, run' can also have a generic meaning, this categorization is potentially problematic. I discuss this in more detail, below, when introducing the list of verbs I tested with my participants.

that the main difference lies between German monolinguals and German-Turkish bilinguals: monolinguals both in Hellersdorf and Kreuzberg exhibit similar patterns of verb usage, distinguishing them from the Turkish-German bilinguals in Kreuzberg.

	manner/motion conflated verbs	generic verbs	path verbs (directional verbs)	generic verbs with directional particles	manner verbs with directional particles
German monolinguals (Hellersdorf)	44%	53%	3%	64%	81%
German monolinguals (Kreuzberg)	31%	66%	3%	64%	85%
Turkish-German bilinguals (Kreuzberg)	19%	71%	4%	63%	53%
Kurdish-German bilinguals (Kreuzberg)	23%	64%	13%	54%	71%

Table 6.2: Overview of Woerfel's (2011) results (Hellersdorf n=188; Kreuzberg[80] n=624).

Evidently all groups in Table 6.2 differ from each other to some extent: verb types are differentiated, and only the two groups of German monolinguals use directional particles in the same manner. Turkish-German bilinguals only align with monolinguals when it comes to the use of directional particles with generic verbs. Kurdish-German bilinguals behave ambiguously and exceptionally, because they employ significantly more path verbs – which also leads them to use fewer directional particles with generic verbs. The semantic

[80] n-values of the Kreuzberg subgroups are not specified in Woerfel (2011).

encoding behavior of *Kiezdeutsch* speakers is apparently indicative of their different backgrounds – socially and linguistically speaking.

In summary, Schroeder (2009) and Woerfel (2011) both find that Turkish-German bilinguals use more generic verbs, avoid manner verbs and avoid directional satellites together with manner verbs. Both authors present their results as possible observations of a typological influence on Turkish-German bilinguals. Woerfel (2011:97) adds that the significant differences in the manner- and generic verb count (p-value=<0,01***) 'might also be traced back to nearly bilingual language acquisition and a comparatively smaller lexicon'. [81]

In a recent consolidation of Woerfel's (2011) work, Goschler et al. (2013) concentrate on the differences between monolingual German and bilingual Turkish German speakers. Goschler et al. (2013:244), however, argue that Turkish-German bilinguals' higher use of the generic verbs *gehen* 'to go' and *kommen* 'to come' is not 'because they know fewer German MANNER verbs thus slightly overusing these 'all-purpose' GENERIC motion verbs'. Rather, they see the effect as due to the preference of Turkish-German bilinguals to encode manner of motion without directional satellites – an effect they do not find for generic verbs, where all speakers employ directional satellites without significant difference. An exploration of all possible constellations of the variables 'language background

[81] Woerfel (2011) references the International Study of Student Performance in German and English among ninth graders of all school types (DESI), which overall points to a limited lexical scope of multilingual students. Klieme (2006:4) states that '[t]he competence deficits with regard to the lexicon are […] dramatic' in a summary of the study.
http://www.kmk.org/fileadmin/veroeffentlichungen_beschluesse/2006/2006_03_01-DESI-Ausgewaehlte-Ergebnisse.pdf (last retrieved Oct. 23rd 2015)

(German/Turkish-German)', 'verb type (Manner/Generic)', and 'presence or absence of a directional (PATH) satellite' with help of Configural Frequency Analysis[82] showed that German monolinguals use manner verbs with satellites significantly above the expected frequency, while Turkish-German bilinguals use the same pattern significantly below the expected frequency. This leads the authors to conclude 'that the effects reported are due exclusively to the fact that bilingual Turkish-German speakers avoid the combination of MANNER verbs with PATH satellites, while monolingual German speakers actually prefer this combination' (Goschler et al. 2013:246). This conclusion, however, should be treated with caution, as a limited German lexicon could still be a cause for Goschler et al'.s (2013) finding. A reliable estimation of lexical scope emerges only through direct examination, and such a method is suggested in the next subsection.

What Schroeder (2009), Woerfel (2011) and Goschler et al. (2013) make sufficiently clear is that there are noteworthy differences in the verbalization of motion events between multiethnolect speakers of various backgrounds. Also, the differences are located at a level of language that is far less obvious than other features. Multiethnolect morphosyntactic features, such as omissions and changes in word order, for instance, can be deliberately employed by speakers to emphasize group affiliation, effectively erasing the boundaries

[82] Configurational Frequency Analysis (CFA) is an explorative method that uses observed frequency patterns that occur significantly above or below their expected frequency to point out values that co-occur together often (so-called types), as well as values that that do not co-occur often (so-called anti-types). In the case of motion events in *Kiezdeutsch* the co-occurrence patterns tested were language background (L1 Turkish/L1 German), the kind of verb employed (manner/generic), and whether the direction of the motion even was realized (with path/without path). A full presentation of Goschler et al.'s (2013) CFA results would exceed my dissertation and is not relevant to the point being made in this chapter.

between speakers and their respective origins. Goschler et al. (2013) suggest that unique properties of semantic encoding are unlikely to disappear the same way:

> As differences in the encoding of motion events are presumably too subtle to be consciously accessible (in contrast to, for example, lexical borrowings), we are likely dealing with a genuine sociolinguistic marker distinguishing two subgroups of *Kiezdeutsch* speakers, rather than with a linguistic stereotype intended to signal subgroup identities. (Goschler et al. 2013:248)

In other words, the identities that speakers show through features in phonology and morphosyntax may not be reflected at the level of structural semantics, if the speech practices in question are not deeply rooted in the speakers' repertoire.

6.2.2.3 Interim Summary

The literature review highlighted two critical areas that require specific attention in a study of the lexicon of multiethnolect speakers. First, the literature points to a limited lexical scope of learners of German. High frequency verbs dominate the data in earlier studies of learner varieties (cf. Meisel 1975, Orlović-Schwarzwald 1978, Keim 1978) and are noted in more recent studies of multiethnolects (cf. Füglein 2000, Keim 2007). Because the verb lexicon stands in a special relationship with the overall lexicon (cf. Broeder et al. 1989), an affirmation of these tendencies in the verb lexicon has implications for the overall lexicon.

The formulation that the lexicon of multiethnolect speakers may be 'limited' or 'reduced' meets with resistance in the work of Goschler et al. (2013). They point to a second critical area: it appears that language contact contributes to patterns that are distinct for different linguistic backgrounds in the multiethnolect speaker stock. Rather than saying that the lexicon does not have the same scope as the lexicon of autochthonous speakers,

Goschler et al. (2013) believe that their data are a result of word choice under the influence of Turkish.

I argue that both options are possible: German-born speakers of so-called multiethnolects could know only words that are more frequent and could be under the influence of language contact. Lexical scope and the structure of the lexical fields both deserve attention and open discussion, because 'lexical distinctness' can have drastic consequences socially speaking, e.g. when it comes to students' performance in school. Developing a way to detect differences in the lexicon of potential multiethnolect speakers is the concern of the next subsection.

6.2.3 The Word-Color Analogy: Verb Fields and Free-Sorting

As noted above, research on descriptive verbs faces the difficulty of relativity: there are core notions associated with words that appear to adhere to universal principles. At the same time, there are hazy or non-prototypical layers around those core notions that allow for substantial differences of perception. In dealing with this characteristic of the semantic concepts involved, Snell-Hornby (1983) uses field diagrams plotted over two dimensions to represent the perceived similarity of certain descriptive verbs in German and English and attempts to break down complex fields with blurry borders into conglomerates of essential relationships. Snell-Hornby justifies her field choices with Standard German dictionary entries and judgments by fewer than 10 speakers with an academic background. Figure 6.1, below, shows the resulting structure that Snell-Hornby (1983) suggests for a conceptual organization of descriptive verbs in general. Three 'major fields' of 'human

behavior', 'movement and position' and 'sounds' comprise the top of the diagram. At the next level we find 'Areas' marked by capital letters. 'Subfields' are the smallest field-unit and are marked with Arabic numbers. At the level of subfields Snell-Hornby suggests smaller groupings indicated by juxtaposition and by arrows. Every word can be located in a greater context. For example, the word 'to hop' is closely aligned with 'to jump' in subfield '4 Nimble, with energy' which is located in area 'A Walking and running' which is part of the major field of 'Movement and Position'.

A major problem with Snell-Hornby's (1983) graph is that it is not representative of a large number of speakers' conceptual choices. Snell-Hornby's analogy between word fields and color terms inspired my effort to test the organization of the German motion verb lexicon, empirically. She metaphorically describes word fields in terms of the color continuum, which according to Berlin & Kay (1969) consists of 'focal areas, blurred edges and overlappings' (Snell-Hornby 1983:68). If fields of meaning indeed behaved parallel to fields of color perception, they perhaps could be tested in a parallel fashion.

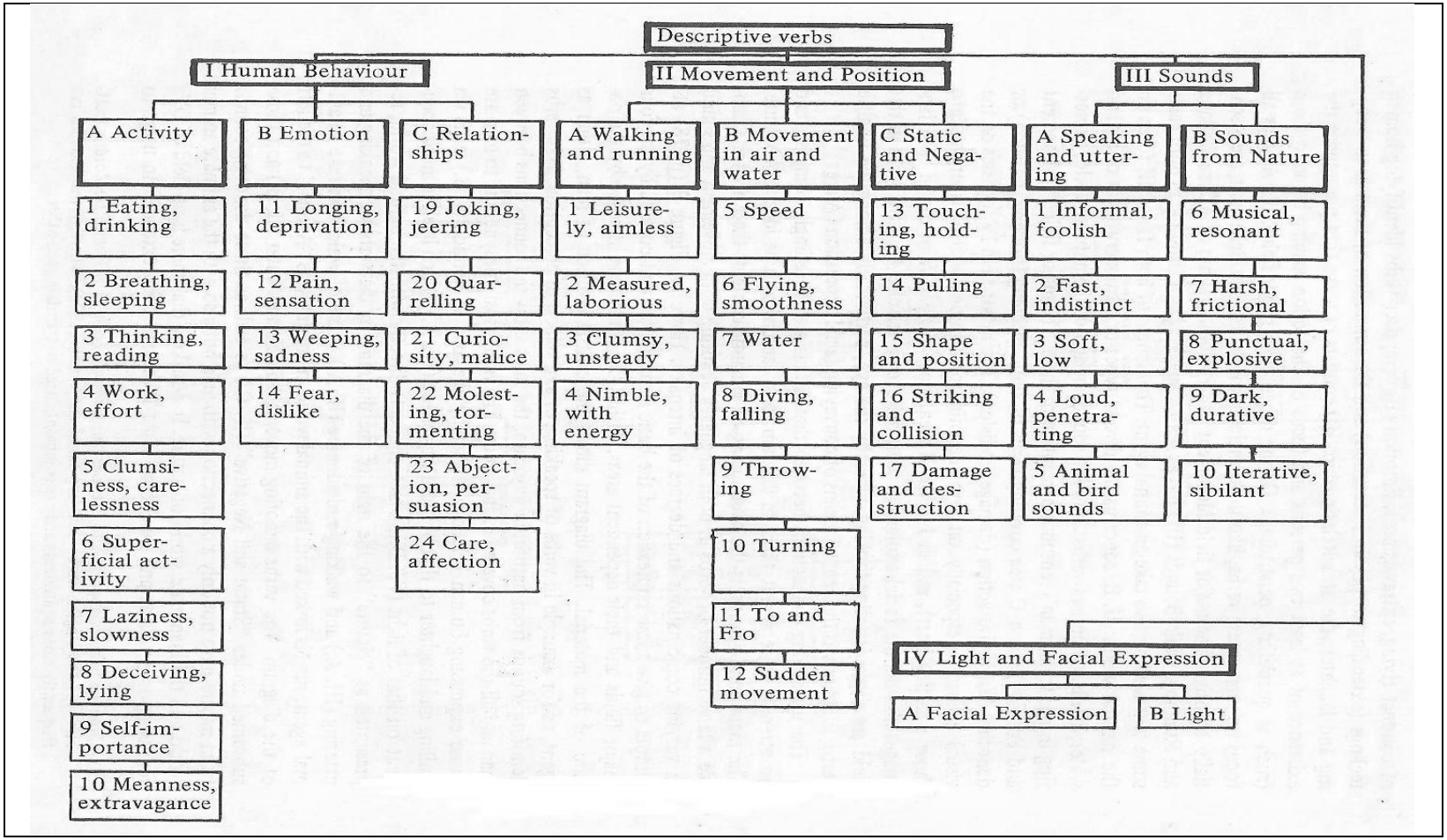


Figure 6.1: Snell-Hornby's (1983:80) overview of major fields, areas and subfields.

One experimental method, in particular, appeared nicely transferable to the school context I was testing in: in relativity research with the goal of better comprehending focal points and borders in color perception and color terminology across languages and cultures, Roberson et al. (2005) conducted a free-sorting task of color squares with speakers of 17 distinct languages and cultural backgrounds. Participants freely grouped color terms 'so that ones that looked similar were placed together in the way that members of a family go together' (ibid:9). The reasoning for using free-sorting in this task was that it allowed for a comparison of naming practices without restraining the grouping of colors, and the potential relationships between them. Roberson et al. found strong variability between individual speakers, but also a genuine influence of sorting behavior by learned color categories. At the same time, the existence of focal colors was confirmed due to a broad generality of sorting behavior across participants and languages. In other words, there is an interaction of individual and universal influences on sorting behavior, while some variation can be culturally and linguistically explained.

The free-sorting method can be adapted to test the perception of verb categories in a language. This requires the use of written phrases during the procedure which can be problematic for two reasons: if students process written language in a fundamentally different way than the language they hear, or if a categorization task would not be representative of lexical categorization at all, the experiment would be problematic. These caveats seem minor, though, as students encounter written Standard German on a daily basis in school and are familiar with tasks that use written words to refer to spoken

language. It is also established that category creation and word learning go hand in hand as children mature.[83] Young speakers are accustomed to making distinctions based on categories of meaning, regardless of whether categories influence our naming practices, or whether naming practices are at the basis of our categorizations. The next section discusses how the free-sorting method helped investigate the scope and structure of the field of German self-motion verbs.

6.3 Methodology

6.3.1 PARTICIPANTS

I tested the field of motion verbs with the same 66 fourth graders that provided background information and recordings in the previous chapter: 35 students attended the Nordstadt elementary school (NSE; 18 monolingual, 17 multilingual) and 31 the Weststadt elementary school (WSE; 9 monolingual, 22 multilingual). Recall that all participants were born in Germany, were between 10-12 years of age, and came from the immediate area of the two elementary schools. Twenty-seven participants were monolingual and 39 were (at least) bilingual or had at least one parent who was not born in Germany. Participants spoke Turkish (17), Polish (6), Russian (5), Arabic (4) and 11 other languages.[84]

[83] The so-called 'naming spurt', a major leap in vocabulary acquisition at around 18 months, is attributed to this relationship (Gopnik & Meltzoff 1997).
[84] For more detail, please see Chapter 5.

6.3.2 VERBS

Table 6.3, below, contains the 52 self-motion verbs and three pseudo-verbs I chose for the free-sorting experiment. To keep the free-sorting task manageable, only 38 self-motion verbs in the list were descriptive verbs, although Snell-Hornby (1983) mentions over 60 such verbs. I also added words that are not strictly descriptive, but that are frequent in spoken German.

Some verbs in the list, e.g. the manner-neutral verbs *kommen* 'to come', *laufen* 'to run, walk' and *gehen* 'walk, go', occur in the *Kiezdeutsch Corpus* (Woerfel 2011:87). Recall that Woerfel (2011) calls *kommen* 'to come' and walk' and *gehen* 'walk, go' 'generic verbs'. However, it is important to note that *kommen* and *gehen* can acquire a directional meaning in German, as in sentence (6.6) or (6.7). Also, *laufen* 'to go, run, walk' does not have a strong modifying component and often is neutral in meaning, as in (6.8).

(6.6) *Kommt sie heute abend?*
Comes she today evening
'Is she coming tonight?'

(6.7) *Er ist schon gegangen.*
He is already went
'He already left**'.**

(6.8) *Die läuft grade ums Haus.*
She walks/runs/goes just around.the house
'Right now, she is running/walking/going around the house'.

German Verb	Translation	German Verb	Translation
1. *bummeln*	'to saunter'	30. *schlendern*	'to saunter'
2. *eilen*	'to hurry'	31. *schlurfen*	'to shuffle'
3. *flanieren*	'to stroll'	32. *schreiten*	'to stride'
4. *flitzen*	'to whisk'	33. *spazieren*	'to stroll'
5. *gehen*	'to walk, go'	34. *springen*	'to jump'
6. *hasten*	'to hasten'	35. *sprinten*	'to sprint'
7. *hechten*	'to dive headlong'	36. *spurten*	'to spurt'
8. *hinken*	'to limp'	37. *stampfen*	'to stomp'
9. *hoppeln*	'to scamper'	38. *stapfen*	'to trudge, tramp'
10. *hopsen*	'to skip'	39. *steigen*	'to mount, rise'
11. *hüpfen*	'to hop'	40. *stiefeln*	'to march'
12. *humpeln*	'to hobble'	41. *stolzieren*	'to strut'
13. *huschen*	'to whisk'	42. *tappen*	'to toddle'
14. *joggen*	'to jog'	43. *taumeln*	'to totter'
15. *klettern*	'to climb'	44. *tippeln*	'to pad'
16. *kommen*	'to come'	45. *torkeln*	'to stagger'
17. *krabbeln*	'to crawl'	46. *traben*	'to trot'
18. *kraxeln*	'to scramble'	47. *trampeln*	'to trample, stomp'
19. *kriechen*	'to creep'	48. *trotten*	'to tread heavily'
20. *latschen*	'to shamble'	49. *wandern*	'to hike'
21. *laufen*	'to go, walk, run'	50. *wanken*	'to reel'
22. *marschieren*	'to march'	51. *watscheln*	'to waddle'
23. *purzeln*	'to somersault, tumble'	52. *wetzen*	'to speed, race'
24. *rasen*	'to race'		
25. *rennen*	'to run'		
26. *robben*	'to crawl' (like a seal)	Pseudo-verbs:	
27. *rollen*	'to roll'	53. *schlopern*	
28. *sausen*	'to dash'	54. *somen*	
29. *schleichen*	'to sneak'	55. *workeln*	

Table 6.3: List of 52 verbs and 3 pseudo-verbs used for free-sorting (author's translation).

Other words in the list are common in elementary school PE-classes, so that children would likely be familiar with them from recreation and school athletics: *hechten* 'to dive headlong', *robben* 'to crawl like a seal', *rollen* 'to roll', *purzeln* 'to tumble, somersault', *joggen* 'to jog', *spurten* 'to spurt', and *sprinten* 'to sprint'.

A number of rare words were also in the set: *flanieren*, a high register expression of 'taking a stroll', for instance, is so rare that it is not even mentioned in a frequency analysis of spoken German words by Ruoff (1981). The dialectal variants *wetzen* 'to run' and *kraxeln* 'to climb' are rare in Braunschweig, because they require knowledge of Northern and Southern variants of German, respectively. Such words were added because knowing or not knowing them could possibly reveal differences in the way children are socialized into greater German society. Also, to ensure that the task could be approached in a way similar to the free-sorting of colors, I included focal notions of motion such as *rennen* 'to run', *springen* 'to jump' and *klettern* 'to climb'. The *Kiezdeutsch Corpus* contains these more frequent words, as does Snell-Hornby (1983).

The pseudo-verbs *schlopern*, *somen,* and *workeln* had a special function in the list; they were constructed to phonotactically fit German, but otherwise have no meaning. Since I told students to sort inexistent words from the overall set into a separate group, these verbs served both as a control and an identifier of a cluster of words that students commonly could not identify.

My list of verbs and the list Snell-Hornby (1983) used to create subfields of descriptive motion verbs are only partially comparable. However, to become familiar with potential structures that speakers may impose on a list in free-sorting, it helps to look at an example from Snell-Hornby (1983). Figure 6.2 contains a subfield of hers that is labeled 'Nimble, with energy'. The label alludes to the common descriptive elements that the modificants of these verbs share: all verbs in Figure 6.2 require more energy than regular upright motion.

The subfield shares words such as *springen* ‘to jump’, *klettern* ‘to climb’, and *krabbeln* ‘to crawl’ with my list. Snell-Hornby (1983) discusses the meaning of each verb in concise prose descriptions. The verbs receive further qualification through their position within the field: arrows in the diagrams refer to relationships between verbs, and a lack of arrows between two sides of the field suggests two distinct motion types in the field, namely the verbs related to *springen* ‘to jump’ on one hand, and verbs that express quadripedal motion, such as *klettern* ‘to climb’ and *krabbeln* ‘to crawl’ on the other.

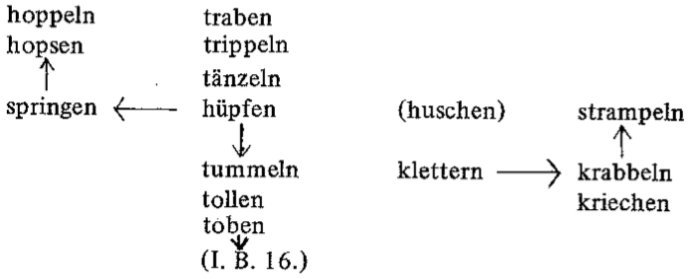


Figure 6.2: Subfield ‘Nimble, with energy’ (Snell-Hornby 1983:140).

Unfortunately, Snell-Hornby (1983) does not spell out how she arrives at the specific order in her fields. They could be a compromise between the dictionary entries and academic participants she consults, but we do not know. For the native speaker of Standard German, the order in some fields is intuitive from experienced use of a verb. For example, *traben*, *tänzeln* and *hüpfen* can be translated into ‘to trot’, ‘to dance around’ and ‘to hop, jump’. Native intuition suggests an intensification of the energy involved in the motion type. Intuitions may vary, however, when younger speakers or speakers of other variants of German impose order on a suggested group of verbs. Because Snell-Hornby’s (1983)

subfields and the results of my experiment generally do not match due to the difference of words under investigation, a comparison is problematic and not provided in this dissertation. However, the specific 'nimble, energetic' field in Figure 6.2, above, in fact emerged from the sorting data. Before discussing the results and some interesting distinctive characteristics, I give an overview of the procedures and the analysis I applied.

6.3.3 PROCEDURES

Before distributing students to individual tables where they performed the sorting task, each class discussed a hands-on example of free-sorting with me: Along with the pseudo-verb *bammern,* I wrote five German verbs of emotion on the blackboard: *lachen* 'to laugh', *heulen* 'to weep', *grinsen* 'to grin', *weinen* 'to cry', and *lächeln* 'to smile'. I then asked students to suggest how the verbs best fit together. In all classes the verbs expressing 'happiness' and the verbs expressing 'sadness' ended up in separate groups, while *bammern* remained on the board alone. I explained that the verb *bammern* was invented, and that within the stack of cards in front of students, there was an unknown number of invented words. The precise instructions students were given with regard to the sorting task were (i) to sort the cards into groups that fit together, and (ii) to remove all invented verbs out of the set. These 'pseudo-verbs' should be placed on the side of each table, in an area marked by a colored number sticker.

Sorting was conducted separately in each of the four classes I enrolled at the NSE and WSE. Communication between classes was impossible during the time of the experiment,

and copying and collaboration were prohibited. Due to space restrictions, not all students were in separate rooms but desks were spaced out to the largest extent possible, so that no interaction occurred. All students were under observation either by my assistant, the German teacher of the class, or me.

All verbs were presented in a sentence frame with the third person feminine singular present tense form, e.g. *Sie rennt.* – 'She is running'. This choice represents the usual number of participants in self-motion events. The short sentences were printed on white business cards of solid paper with 8.5 cm length and 5 cm width. Free-sorting took place on large school tables, with enough space to ensure every student could arrange clusters freely without interfering or interacting with others. My participants had 30 minutes to conclude the task, but no one took longer than 20 minutes. A colored sticker with the student's number at the right corner of the table marked the area where students placed the perceived pseudo-verbs. If a student did not understand the instructions, they were repeated. This was the case with five students in one class at the WSE, and with five students at the NSE. Mutual distraction or unclear formulations on my part were the reasons for these misunderstandings.

Students used different strategies to reach their sorting goals: Some spread the cards out on the table, sorting out perceived pseudo-verbs first, and organizing the other cards afterwards. Others sorted the cards by working from a stack, subsequently creating new stacks. At the completion of the tasks, my assistant took pictures of each table. Figure 6.3 contains an example of the final sorting results. The pictures varied in their structure. While

groups were generally identifiable, a few sorting results required me to make judgments about students' intended outcomes. E.g. if two groups of cards touched each other the question was whether the student intended them to be one single group or not, or if there was no clear distinction between pseudoverbs and the rest of the sorting field a border of the pseudo-verb group had to be established. A selection of pictures is presented in Appendix D of this dissertation. They show that generally speaking these issues were minor. When they occurred I interpreted the results in favor of smaller groupings, rather than lumping verbs into large clusters.

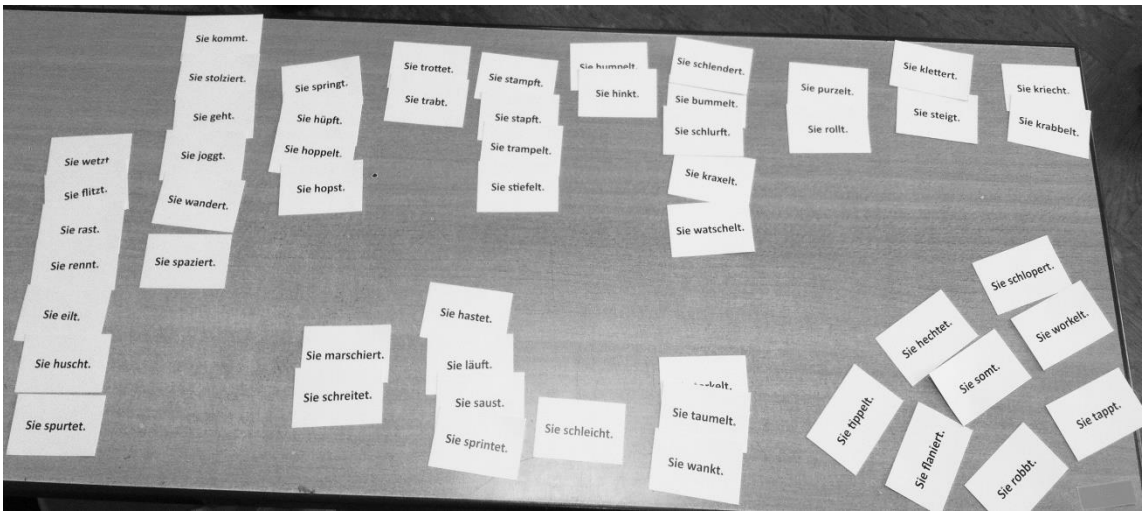


Figure 6.3: School tables after free-sorting (groups are distinguishable, as in most cases).

6.3.4 ANALYSIS

The pictures of students' desks were transferred into a co-variation matrix, where a co-occurrence either equaled 1 (the verbs co-occur in a sorting group) or 0 (the verbs do not

co-occur in a sorting group). For instance, the student producing the results in Figure 6.3, above, sorted *marschieren* 'to march' and *schreiten* 'to stride' as well as *traben* 'to trot' and *trotten* 'to tread heavily' into two groups. In Table 6.4, below, these verbs are then marked for co-occurrence. *Schleichen* 'to sneak' stands alone in Figure 6.3 and hence remains unmarked for co-occurrence in Table 6.4.

	marschieren	schleichen	schreiten	traben	trotten
marschieren		0	1	0	0
schleichen	0		0	0	0
schreiten	1	0		0	0
traben	0	0	0		1
trotten	0	0	0	1	

Table 6.4: Example of a co-variation matrix.

In order to process this data set further, I decided to add up students' co-variation matrices by different criteria. The district and migration background seemed two separate but equally important criteria for combining students' results. After adding up all students from a district, I normalized the results by division through the number of students. The same was done for students with regard to migration background: multilingual students and students with parents born abroad were grouped together.[85] Autochthonous students formed the second group. This resulted in four matrices, containing students of the WSE, students of the NSE, students of migrant descent, and monolingual autochthonous students, respectively. With the goal of finding co-occurrences in mind that would point to perceived similarities between verbs for my speakers, I chose hierarchical cluster analysis (HAC) as

[85] The groups already overlapped, with the exception of three speakers.

a data mining method. This method would allow me to visualize and explore the most common co-occurrences in the four groups I had created based on neighborhood and migrant background. The next sub-subsection gives a brief overview of this clustering method that is commonly is used to locate groups of data points in numerical tables (cf. Baayen 2008:138f).

6.3.4.1 Hierarchical Agglomerative Clustering (HAC)

Cluster analysis, and more specifically Hierarchical Agglomerative Clustering, lent itself to my study, because results can be immediately represented in legible dendrograms. Dendrograms are commonly known from biology where they are used to represent phylogenetic relationships. In linguistics the method became popular in research on language relationships. Figure 6.4, below, is an example of a dendrogram given in Baayen (2008) based on data from Dunn et al. (2005). It represents the phylogenetic similarities between fifteen Papuan and sixteen Oceanic languages based on the binary values (present/not present) of 125 grammatical features. Based on the co-occurrence of these features, cluster analysis produces the separation of the Papuan languages (capitalized) from the Oceanic languages in Figure 6.4.

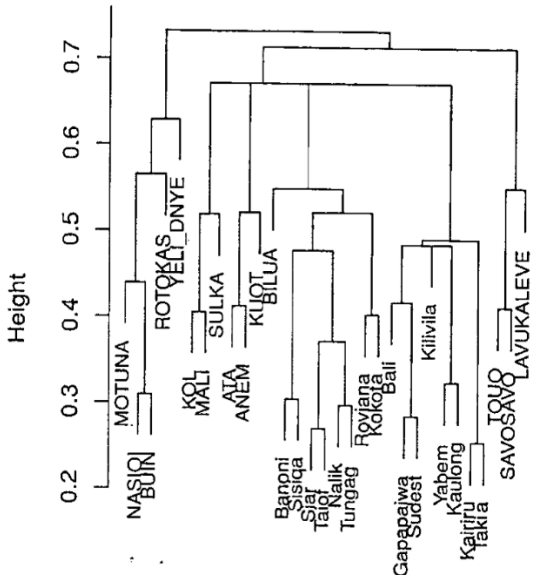


Figure 6.4: Dendrogram showing phylogenetic relationships between Oceanic and Papuan languages based on number of shared grammatical features (from Baayen 2008:144).

Within the two groups the languages closest related are 'leafs' (end points) under the same so-called 'final node': Kairiru and Takia, for instance, have many features in common, so that they are clustered together under the same final node. Final nodes are usually positioned at lower levels of the tree branches. The height reflects the distance measures between the objects as calculated in a distance matrix. In Figure 6.4 the distance is based on a ratio of feature dissimilarities in the languages. The higher up the next connecting node above any two clusters lies, the fewer features they share.

It is important to note that hierarchical cluster analysis leads to different representations, depending on the algorithms (divisive or agglomerative), the distance measures and the weighting factors in the algorithms that are employed for cluster analysis. Clusters need not be based on measures of dissimilarity, as above. In my study, I relied on

the more common agglomerative cluster method, which is based on a measure of similarity. This method initially treats each verb as a single cluster searching for a partner with the most similarity. From bottom to top these clusters are then sequentially joined to larger clusters based on similarity (cf. Baayen 2008:138). This method is known as hierarchical agglomerative clustering (HAC).

The default distance measure of similarity between objects in agglomerative clustering is the Euclidean distance.[86] It also rendered the most legible results in my analysis. I used the weighting factors 'complete linkage' on the algorithm in the program R and calculated the clusters from the distance objects. 'Complete linkage' bases the distance between two clusters on the longest distance between any two members in the two clusters, thereby emphasizing outliers in the dendrogram and producing overall smaller, more compact clusters. This seemed a justified approach for practical reasons: The lowest nodes in all trees will be those with the most similarities in the distance matrix. Hence, they represent the words that were most commonly associated with each other. The higher the distance measure on the vertical axis is, the less reliable the similarities between branches. Smaller groups minimize the blurriness in the dendrogram. Also, those clusters that students produced most consistently throughout the group will result in outliers: they are very closely aligned and do not align with the other, more variable groupings in the data. Outliers should be immediately visible.

[86] A Euclidean distance is the simple distance between two points in geometrical space that would be measured when applying a ruler, for instance (http://mathworld.wolfram.com/Distance.html contains a more elaborate explanation, for instance.)

In the exploration of the dendrograms, I placed a special emphasis on the cluster of perceived pseudo-verbs, due to my question of whether the size of the lexicon differed across districts or speaker backgrounds. In addition, I focused on final nodes with leaves in the dendrograms that seemed to me, as a fluent Standard German speaker, to form unintuitive clusters. Such clusters could possibly be representative of non-standard structures in the lexicon of my participants. In the final stage, I created linear regression models between certain free-sorting results and selected data points from the background data.

6.3.4.2 Regression Analysis

Recall from Chapter 5 that besides regular background data, I also elicited data on the language environment of all students who completed the free-sorting task. This backbone of data enabled me to investigate several factors that could be potentially predictive of students' free-sorting results. I chose five predictors for both possible model comparisons:

i. **district**: given the social differences between the Nordstadt and Weststadt substantiated in Chapter 5, I included the district values as a predictor reflecting the impact of the socio-economic environment of students.

ii. **perceived dominant language environment**: the perceived dominant language in students' environment could play a crucial role, if language contact was responsible for certain structures in the dendrograms. Perhaps a language environment that is predominantly non-German contributes to more unknown words. Based on the

primary interlocutor ratings students gave me for German and their heritage language in Chapter 5, German or the heritage language could be dominant, or the languages were equally relevant in my students' eyes. I tested these three options, but excluded language mixing from this predictor because students rarely described language practices in their environment using this term (see Chapter 5).

iii. **perceived personal language dominance**: I determined students' assessment of their personal language dominance based on the grades they gave themselves during the interview. Not knowing enough German could perhaps be a reason to perform differently in the free-sorting task. There were again three possibilities: German or the heritage language could be dominant, or, if there was no dominant language, there was no difference in the values assigned. Again, I tested the three options, and also made sure that the value distribution of the primary language environment (above) and the dominant language were not collinear. For monolinguals, German was assumed to be the dominant language both in their language environment and in their self-assessment.

iv. **parents born abroad**: one of three possibilities expressed whether or not parents were born abroad: either, one or both parent were born abroad, or none of the parents were born abroad. All three options were present and tested in the data.

v. **being a Turkish speaker:** I included this value to test a relationship between lexical structures and being a Turkish speaker. Turkish speakers play an important role in many studies, as Chapter 3 showed. Goschler et al. (2013) also propose that

language contact with Turkish is responsible for the patterns they find in their analysis of motion verbs.

vi. **gender:** as mentioned in the literature review in Chapter 3, multiethnolect researchers disagree whether the phenomena are more dense in male speaker groups. I chose to include gender as a measure for this reason throughout my study.

I used linear regression modeling to investigate whether these six factors were able to predict the size of students' perceived pseudo-verb clusters.[87] This way a possible relationship between my participants' backgrounds and their lexical scope would become clearer. The models that were tested proceeded from including a single predictor to including two predictors, and from including two predictors, to including interactions between the predictors. For every model, I checked whether residuals were normally distributed and equally variant. In models with more than one predictor, I tested for collinearity, but it never reached a critical level. Note also, that the real pseudoverbs *schlopern*, *somen* and *workeln* were not counted in the clusters that formed the dependent variables in the regression modeling procedure.

Certain peculiar clusters that surfaced in the dendrogram of children of migrant descent called for a closer analysis. Only a cluster of *kommen* 'to come' and *schleichen* 'to sneak' was consistent and large enough for an additional statistical approach. Fifteen speakers had grouped these verbs together. If a student had placed these verbs in the same group, the

[87] Appendix E contains all models that were tested in regression analysis in this dissertation.

data set was marked. If not, the student's data remained unmarked. Logistic regression is a generalized linear regression method that can cope with such binary markers, and I used it to see whether there were relationships between the non-standard verb pairs and the six selected factors above. Again, models were tested beginning with single predictors, followed by two predictors and possible interactions. In case of logistic regression, multicollinearity is the greatest concern to be monitored. However, there were no problems with regard to multicollinearity throughout my analysis.

The next section contains the dendrograms resulting from hierarchical agglomerative cluster analysis (HAC). It is followed by a presentation of the best regression models I was able to build from the above predictors over students' pseudo-verb clusters, as well as over the non-standard final nodes I identified in the dendrograms.

6.4 Results

6.4.1 Hierarchical Agglomerative Clustering (HAC)

In this subsection, speakers' sorting choices are represented in HAC-dendrograms for explorative purposes. The goal of a twofold division by district (Figures 6.5a and 6.5b) and migration background (Figures 6.6a and 6.6b) is to explore how different background factors have a different influence on the clustering outcome.

The labels in the dendrograms should be read as follows: All branches above the height of 1 have a hierarchical address consisting of alphabetical and numerical characters. For

instance, in Figure (6.5b) the branch labeled D2b1 is positioned below the branch D2b, which is again below the branch D2 and below an uppermost branch D. These labels assist in highlighting tree-internal structures. In order to facilitate the comparison across trees, the most important clusters below the height of 1 are framed by rectangles. While branch labels are not comparable across dendrograms, the clusters are marked by comparable Greek letters. Final clusters with only two leaves are not framed and labeled. Clusters containing the three pseudo-verbs are marked with the letter α. This data illustrates the lexical scope of my participants. With regard to my second question, concerning possible non-standard structures in the verb lexicon, certain clusters vary across neighborhoods and speaker backgrounds. They feature bold frames. Clusters that were counterintuitive for me as a speaker of Standard German carry the letter ξ.The following sections discuss the tree-internal structures and cluster characteristics before comparing the results across dendrograms. I begin with a presentation of the district results, followed by a presentation of the results by migration background.

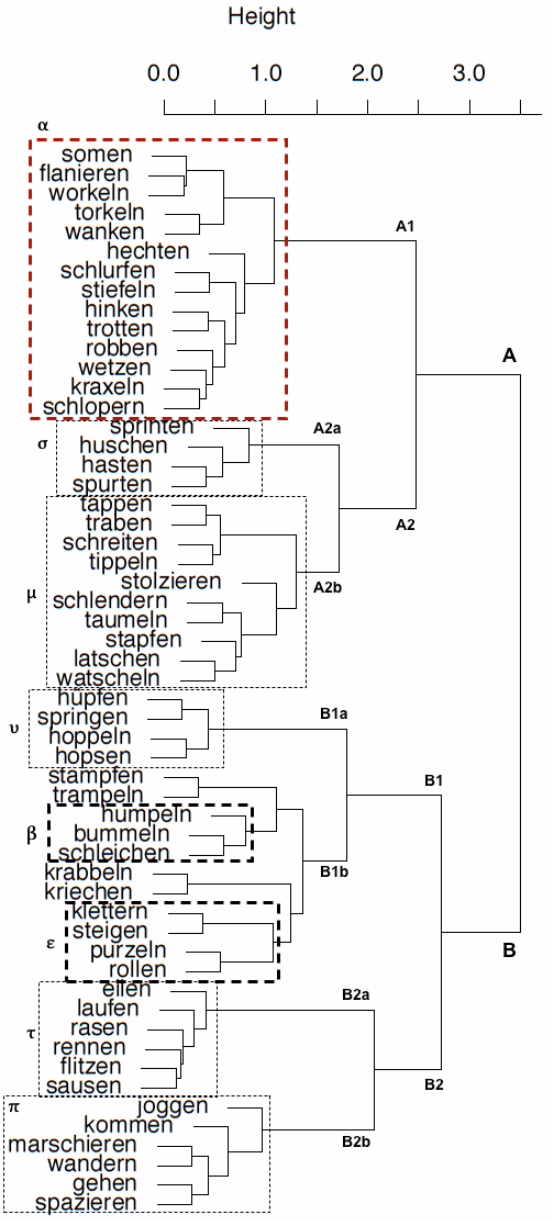


Figure 6.5a: HAC-dendrogram for speakers from the NSE.

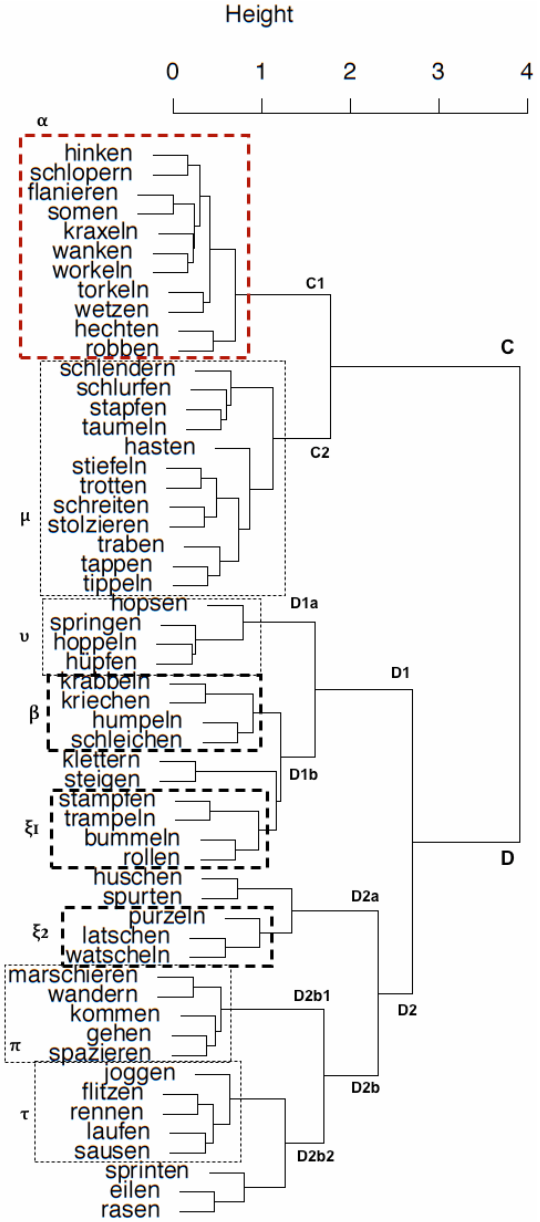


Figure 6.5b: HAC-dendrogram for speakers from the WSE.

6.4.1.1 Comparison of Districts

Two roughly equal clusters make up the dendrogram of the Nordstadt elementary students, in Figure 6.5a: branch A contains 28 words and branch B has 27 words. Branches A1 (14 words), A2 (14 words), B1 (15 words) and B2 (12 words) also lead to roughly equal clusters. The only branch that does not split above 1, is A1 with the final cluster α. It contains all pseudo-verbs, meaning that verbs in this cluster were most often perceived as non-existing. However, clusters σ and μ both also contain words that often ended up in the pseudo-verb group, which explains why these clusters appear under branch A and not under branch B. The internal structure of cluster μ suggests that the verbs were unknown to a number of speakers: not all leaves fall into semantically similar pairs, and there is a lot of variation that can be attributed to an inconsistent assignment of meaning, e.g. *schreiten* 'to stride' and *tippeln* 'to pad', share only a few characteristics.

At the same time, the distance between the clusters α, σ and μ shows that a majority of students did not place these verbs in a group together. Clusters σ and μ retain a certain semantic structure: the verbs *sprinten* 'to sprint', *huschen* 'to whisk', *hasten* 'to hasten', and *spurten* 'to spurt' all denote a quick type of motion, and all verbs in μ express manner variations of walking at regular or slow speed. Pairs like *latschen* 'to shamble' and *watscheln* 'to waddle' even share commonalities in pace and performance, expressing a rather clumsy, swaying motion with reduced speed, for instance.

The verbs under branch B were commonly recognized and differentiated in the participants sorting, and hence exhibit a more fine-grained structure. Cluster υ, under

branch B1a, consists of 'jumping' verbs that consistently occur together across students' data. Next to it, branch B1b, contains several discernible clusters: to the right, there is a pair of 'loud' verbs, *stampfen* 'to stomp' and *trampeln* 'to trample'. Next to it lies cluster β with 3 slow verbs. Below, there is a pair of verbs pertaining to motion 'along the ground', *krabbeln* 'to crawl' and *kriechen* 'to creep', next to cluster ε which contains the pairs *klettern* 'to climb', *steigen* 'to mount, to ascent', as well as *rollen* 'to roll', *purzeln* 'to tumble, somersault'. It appears that the verbs on this side of B1b all denote motion with a specific ground connection, such as quadrupedal motion and rolling movements with ground contact.

Branch B2 contains two discernible clusters: cluster τ under B2a and cluster π under B2b. The former consists of verbs that clearly denote fast motion of different degrees with *eilen* 'to hurry' and *laufen* 'to go, run' being less speedy than *rennen* 'to run' and *sausen* 'to dash', for instance. Cluster π congregates generic and leisurely motion types, such as *gehen* 'to go, walk', *spazieren* 'to take a walk', and *wandern* 'to hike'. The verb *joggen* 'to jog' could be expected in the running group, and indeed lies at the edge of cluster π with some distance. The verb *kommen* 'to come' also appears in the group. Like *gehen* 'to go, walk' it lacks a manner specification, and can also imply a certain direction of motion (see Subsection 6.3.2 above).

In summary, speakers at the NSE are using a number of criteria in structuring the verb field. After sorting out the unknown verbs, they use manner modifications along the dimensions of speed, noise and motion trajectory to organize the field. There also is a

cluster of verbs that are manner-neutral, or express motion for leisure purposes. None of the clusters under B appear counterintuitive to me or stand out as non-standard. The fact that close to half of all existing verbs got placed in the pseudo-verb group at some point or another is a dramatic finding, however. Subsection 6.4.4, below, addresses the question of who had trouble assigning meaning to certain verbs in more detail.

Moving on to the results from the Weststadt elementary school (WSE) in Figure 6.5b, a first glance shows that the pseudo-verbs under branch C1 (11 verbs) and the verbs under neighboring branch C2 (13 verbs) are fewer than in the NSE dendrogram. Upon closer examination, cluster μ exhibits some randomness, but is overall also more structured: with *schlendern* 'to saunter', *schlurfen* 'to shuffle', and *stapfen* 'to trudge, tramp' there is a final branch, for instance, that contains motion events with little deliberation or control. Just below, *schreiten* 'to stride' and *stolzieren* 'to strut' make up a 'prideful' pair of motion, and *stiefeln* 'to march' and *trotten* 'to tread heavily' describe a laborious and heavy motion type.

These pairings show that some students made attempts to bring structure into this verb group. However, a closer look at the distance between C1 and C2 reveals that although the cluster μ is more structured, clusters α and μ in the WSE data lie closer together than in the NSE data: the height is at 2.5 in Figure 6.6a for the NSE, and at 1.8 in Figure 6.6b for the WSE. In other words, the verbs in clusters α and μ co-occurred more often in the WSE data than in the NSE data, and cluster μ is less independent in the WSE sample, meaning that

several students did not know the meaning of the verbs in μ. Also, branch C is overall less differentiated and there is no cluster σ.

Smaller and more differentiated clusters under branch D contain the verbs that were placed outside the pseudo-verb group. The 'jumping' verbs are in cluster υ under D1a. Below, the picture gets more complicated and differs quite a bit from the NSE data. Cluster β under D1b suggests a group of slow motion types. However, this time the ground motion verb *kriechen* 'to creep', occurs with *schleichen* 'to sneak' and *humpeln* 'to hobble'. While *kriechen* sometimes pertains to slow motion events, such as slowly moving traffic, *krabbeln* 'to crawl' is not necessarily slow. The cluster therefore probably reflects a compromise between a close cluster of the two ground motion verbs and the slow verbs.

Just below the pair *klettern* 'to climb' and *steigen* 'to mount, to ascent' lies a cluster labeled ξ_1. It contains the 'noisy' motion verbs *stampfen* 'to stomp' and *trampeln* 'to trample', along with the pair *bummeln* and *rollen*, which mean 'to saunter' and 'to roll' in Standard German, respectively. This pair is obscure, as in Standard German there is no obvious semantic connection, and there also are no dialects that offer an interpretation that would explain the cluster.

Yet another cluster appears counterintuitive: the pair *latschen* 'to shamble' and *watscheln* 'to waddle' is accompanied by *purzeln* 'to tumble, somersault' in cluster ξ_2 under branch D2a. The clumsy, swaying motion of the first two verbs is upright and the uncontrolled motion of the latter is a rolling or falling motion. Again, I am lacking a good semantic explanation for the cluster.

Concluding the description, branch D2b contains two important clusters: a manner neutral cluster π under branch D2b1 with basically the same verbs as in the NSE data. Unsurprisingly, the verb *joggen* 'to jog' is now in cluster τ under D2b2 denoting speed along with other verbs. Cluster τ is less consistent here than in the NSE data, but overall recognizable.

A closer comparison of the NSE and the WSE data brings about two insights that pertain to my research question. First, it is evident that in both neighborhoods the number of unknown words is high. Although the overall cluster of pseudo-verbs appears smaller in the WSE at first glance, it is actually consistently larger. The statistical means of the perceived pseudo-verb counts in the two schools are 16.3 in the NSE and 20.2 in WSE.

A close examination of the pseudo-verb clusters reveals that, as predicted in the introductory section, several verbs in the set have a lower frequency in Standard German. Dialectal words such as the Southern German verb *kraxeln* 'to climb' were also not recognized. But even more common verbs such as *torkeln* 'to stagger', *wanken* 'to totter' and *hinken* 'to limp' are unknown to most children in both districts. Besides being of interest to my study, this is a potentially alarming result for fourth graders at the verge of secondary school, because students' reading and comprehension level has a great impact on the academic career choice that teachers suggest and parents have to make for their children in the German school system.

Finally, it became sufficiently clear that in the Weststadt there are non-standard clusters in the lower branches of the dendrogram that need explanation. Note that these clusters

include words that are also contained in Snell-Horby's (1983) verb field 'nimble, with energy', presented above in Figure, but also other counterintuitive pairs like ξ_I and ξ_2. Speakers in the WSE could indeed be grouping these verbs together, repeatedly. Another possibility would be that the clusters result from a certain disparity in the data: subgroups of students could be grouping the verbs into substantially different clusters. In that case, the compromise HAC is forced to make between these groups misrepresents the actual underlying patterns. Below, I will suggest that both of these explanations actually account for clusters ξ_I and ξ_2.

6.4.1.2 Comparison by Migration Background

As mentioned in the previous chapter, more immigrant families live in the Weststadt of Braunschweig than in the Nordstadt. My sample reflects this difference, in that more students in the WSE are from immigrant families than in the NSE (22 speakers vs. 17 speakers). By regrouping the samples by this criterion, I intend to see whether differences are perhaps based on family backgrounds. Figures 6.6a and 6.6b below reveal crucial differences.

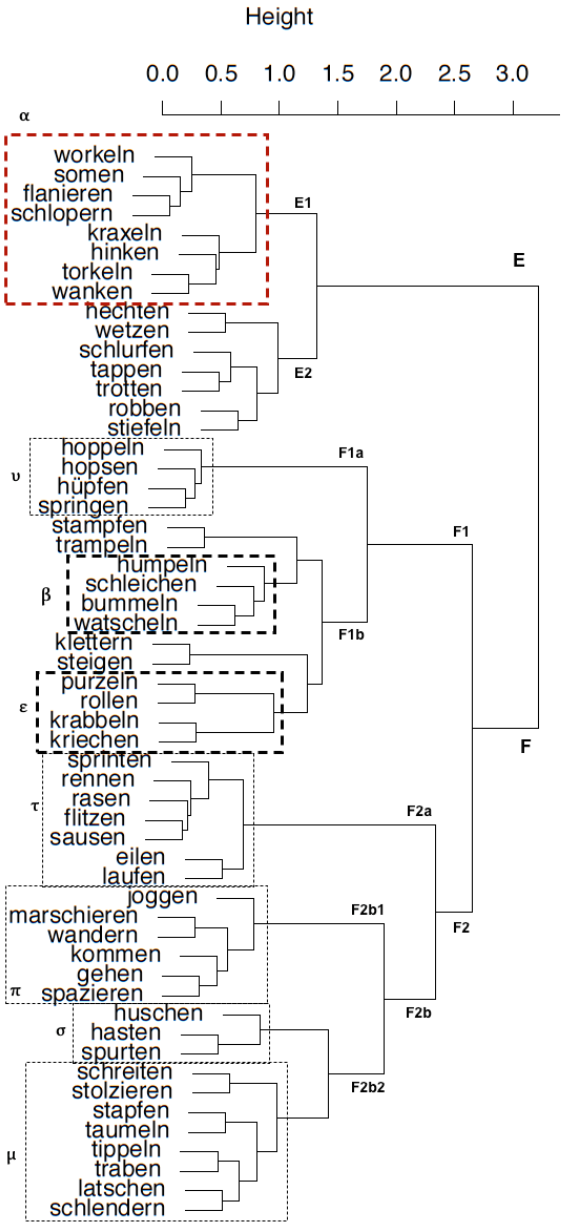


Figure 6.6a: HAC-dendrogram for speakers without migrant descent (NSE & WSE).

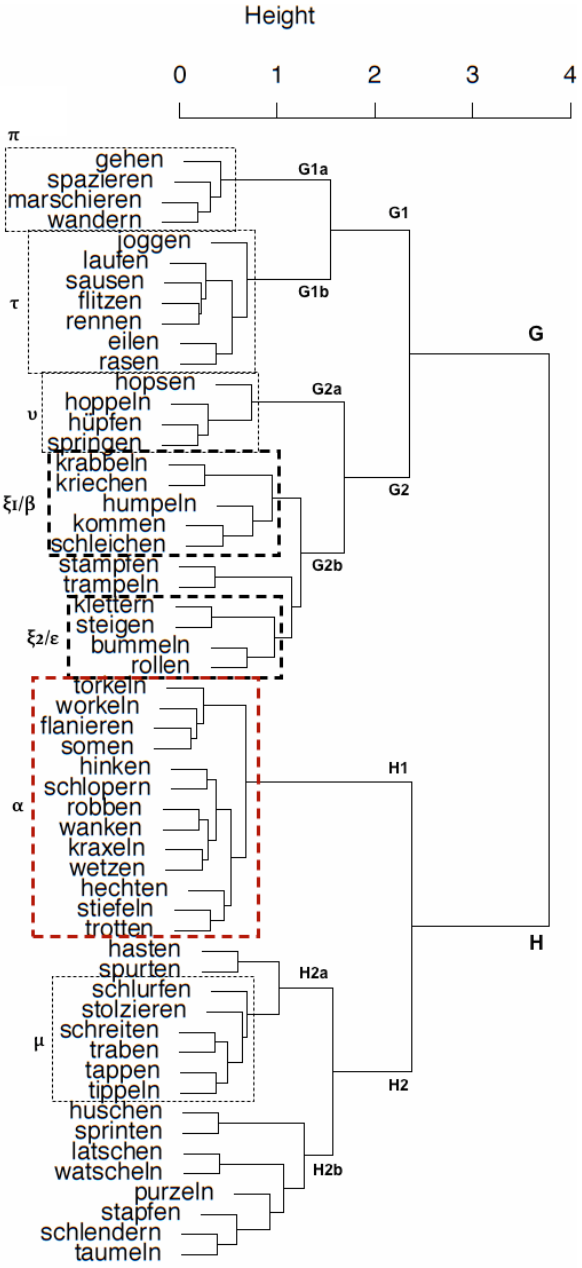


Figure 6.6b: HAC-dendrogram for speakers of migrant descent (NSE & WSE).

Now it becomes clear why certain structures occur in the WSE data that do not occur in the NSE data and vice versa: Figure 6.6a contains the data of all autochthonous speakers. Overall there are fewer words in cluster α and in the neighboring structure under branch E (15 verbs) than in any other dendrogram. Autochthonous children score below the average pseudo-verb count in both neighborhoods. A simple calculation of averages showed that on average, they know five more words than students with migration background. This alone may not be a drastic difference. However, it also becomes clear that many of the clusters produced by autochthonous speakers resemble the NSE data: clusters υ, β, ε, τ, π and σ contain roughly the same words, for instance as in the NSE data. The structure under F1b in particular is strikingly similar to B1b: the pair of 'loud verbs', and the clusters of jumping verbs, slow verbs and ground motion verbs all occur in the same order.

A crucial difference from the NSE data is, however, that σ and μ no longer appear close to the unknown verbs. These clusters occur under F2b2, in a very structured part of the dendrogram. Autochthonous German speakers are evidently less prone to categorize these verbs as nonexistent. The structure of the manner of motion verbs in μ supports this interpretation, because the pairs are easily interpretable for a speaker of Standard German: there is a 'prideful pair' of *schreiten* 'to stride' and *stolzieren* 'to strut', an 'exhausted pair' of *stapfen* 'to trudge, tramp' and *taumeln* 'to totter', and a 'careless pair' of *schlendern* 'to saunter' and *latschen* 'to shamble'. The verbs *tippeln* 'to pad' and *traben* 'to tread' form an interesting final cluster, because they are traditionally used in German travel songs like '*Die Dämmerung fällt wir sind müde vom traben…*', '*Wir traben in die Weite…*', '*Es*

tippeln ein paar Jungen…', and the socialization of some speakers could help build these associations.

The data of speakers from immigrant families is displayed in Figure 6.6b. Note that the distribution of clusters has completely flipped: while all previous dendrograms contained a fairly consistent pseudoverb cluster α in the upper half of the tree, it now appears under H in the lower half. This means that the upper clusters under G were more consistent for students of migrant descent than the pseudoverb cluster. Less than half of the words overall were consistently known to students of migrant descent according to this dendrogram. Because of this, clusters π and τ under G1a and G1b are smaller. Knowing fewer words leads to small clusters of existing verbs that are treated as outliers by the algorithm.

This is not the only difference, however. The cluster of ground motion under G2b verbs has fallen apart, and there are verbs among the larger group that appear semantically 'out of place' for the Standard German speaker. In clusters ξ_1 and ξ_2, for instance, there are some slow verbs (formerly β) and some ground verbs (formerly ε) along with the pair *kommen* 'to come' and *schleichen* 'to sneak' (subsequently, ks-cluster) and the pair *bummeln* 'to saunter' and *rollen* 'to roll' (subsequently, br-cluster). The finding highlights that the non-standard clusters in the WSE data in Figure 6.5b are not all due to misrepresentations of the underlying data. The br-cluster evidently is rooted in the sorting behavior of students of migrant descent – although I currently have no meaningful interpretation for this cluster (see Section 6.5). On the other hand, *purzeln* 'to tumble, somersault' in ξ_2 under D2a of Figure 6.5b seems to be rooted in a discrepancy between students with and without

immigrant backgrounds. The verb is located under H2b in Figure 6.6b, meaning that students of migrant descent often placed it in the pseudo-verb group, because they did not know this verb.

Overall, the dendrograms show that the separation of the data by the criterion of migrant descent was a fruitful way of exploring underlying background factors that may be responsible or related to the overall differences between the NSE and WSE data. Narrowing the focus of investigation to the number of perceived pseudo-verbs, the results from linear regression analysis more systematically answer the question of which background factors influence certain sorting results.

6.4.2 Linear Regression over Perceived Pseudo-Verbs

Using the factors 'district', 'primary language environment', 'dominant language', 'parents born abroad', and 'being a Turkish speaker' I attempted to build models that make predictions over the scope of the cluster of pseudo-verbs in the data of all speakers.[88] It turned out that the best single predictor for students' pseudo-verb clusters is not the district (Adjusted R-squared: 0.077), but rather the parental background (Adjusted R-squared: 0.143). It is unsurpassed by any other single predictors. Of the three options for this predictor (one born abroad, both born abroad, none born abroad), the difference between both parents being born abroad and both being born in Germany brings about highly significant improvement (p=0.000***) when tested alone. This model can be improved,

[88] See Appendix E.

however, by adding further predictors. In fact, adding any other predictor but 'gender' improves the model significantly, implying that the predictor 'parents born abroad' should not be relied upon alone. The most significant improvement is achieved when speakers' district or Turkish speaker background taken into consideration as the second predictors. The best model is achieved, however, when both predictors are added, together. As the summary of this model in Table (6.5) shows, the superiority lies in three explanatory factors: (i) when both parents are born abroad (the intercept is no parents are born abroad), (ii) when speakers live in the Weststadt, and (iii) when they speak Turkish. I also tested whether an interaction between the predictors improves the model, but it cannot be further improved. There also is no issue of collinearity between the predictors involved. It is hence safe to say that the model considering students' migrant background via the parents, their district and their status as Turkish speakers best accounts for the size of the pseudo-verb cluster (Adjusted R-squared: 0.246).

Call: lm(formula = pseudoverbs ~ parents.born.abroad + district + Turkish, data = ps.verb)

Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-11.6587	-4.0516	0.1343	4.4195	11.8678

Coefficients:

	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)	10.9881	1.2241	8.977	9.37e-13 ***
parents.born.abroad-both	3.6706	1.6904	2.171	0.0338 *
parents.born.abroad-one	0.1848	2.1108	0.088	0.9305
district-WS	3.4263	1.4401	2.379	0.0205 *
Turkish-yes	4.4735	1.7798	2.514	0.0146 *

Signif. codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1

Residual standard error: 5.671 on 61 degrees of freedom
Multiple R-squared: 0.2926, Adjusted R-squared: 0.2462
F-statistic: 6.309 on 4 and 61 DF, p-value: 0.0002577

Table 6.5: Summary of the best fitting model predicting the number of pseudoverbs (M12).

In more concrete terms, the summary in Table (6.5) says that a participant with both parents born abroad, living in the Weststadt and speaking Turkish is the most likely to know the fewest motion verbs, while a student both of whose parents were born in Germany, who lives in the Nordstadt and does not speak Turkish most likely has the largest motion verb lexicon.

The next two subsections presents statistical results and observations of the non-standard clusters in the data that surfaced in cluster ξ, ξ_1 and ξ_2 in Figures 6.5b and 6.6b, above.

6.4.3 LOGISTIC REGRESSION OVER *KOMMEN* 'TO COME', *SCHLEICHEN* 'TO SNEAK'

Whether or not a student was among the 15 students that placed the verbs *kommen* 'to come', *schleichen* 'to sneak' (ks) in the same group correlates with a single specific background factor: Nine of the 15 co-occurrences in the data came from Turkish speakers, and, accordingly, the most reliable predictor for the ks-cluster is 'being a speaker of Turkish'. When adding additional predictors, this model (M21) did not improve significantly. The summary of the model showing the predictor's highly significant explanatory power (p=0.000***) is presented below. The AIC was calculated separately (AIC=62.623). A presentation of all tested models is attached in Appendix E.

ks-cluster: Logistic Regression Model

lrm(formula = ks.cluster ~ Turkish, data = ks.verb)

		Model Likelihood Ratio Test		Discrimination Indexes		Rank Discrim. Indexes	
Obs	66	LR chi2	12.12	R2	0.255	C	0.731
0	51	d.f.	1	g	0.837	Dxy	0.463
1	15	Pr(> chi2)	0.0005	gr	2.309	gamma	0.808
max |deriv|	1e-09			gp	0.165	tau-a	0.165
				Brier	0.140		

	Coef	S.E.	Wald Z	Pr(>|Z|)
Intercept	-1.9924	0.4352	-4.58	<0.0001
Turkish-yes	2.2437	0.6659	3.37	0.0008***

Signif. codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' '

Table 6.6: Summary of the best fitting model predicting the ks-cluster (M28)

6.4.4 FURTHER OBSERVATIONS

From Figure 6.5b it became clear that the nonstandard cluster of *bummeln* 'to saunter' and *rollen* 'to roll' (br-cluster) is particularly present in the Weststadt: Eight students contributed to this cluster, six of them being from the Weststadt. While these numbers do not allow for regression analysis, it stands out that three of these students, also produced the ks-cluster, all of them living in the Weststadt.

Another important phenomenon that became clear upon examination of the pseudoverb data is that 14 students across neighborhoods placed at least one of the real pseudoverbs *schlopern*, *somen* and *workeln* outside of the pseudoverb cluster. Of these students 8 were from families with both parents born abroad, 3 had one parent born abroad and 3 had both parents born in Germany. This means that at least 21% of students were trying to assign meaning to verbs that they did not know. Due to the inherent randomness of guessing, this very likely did not affect the more consistent clusters. However, the fact that some students resorted to guessing strongly suggests that other verb meanings were randomly assigned as well. Section 2.5 will further elaborate on why a certain 'blurriness' in meaning could at least in part explain non-standard clustering behavior.

6.4.5 INTERIM SUMMARY

The statistical tools employed in this section so far helped me establish two facts: First, cluster analysis revealed differences in the way the students in the Weststadt and Nordstadt structure their motion verb lexicon. Rearranging the sample according to speakers' family

background uncovered a connection between certain patterns and the linguistic and social factors connected to migrant descent. Second, with the help of six predictors chosen from speakers' background data I tested a number of regression models over (i) the size of the pseudo-verb cluster of each speaker, and (ii) the occurrence of the non-standard pairing of *kommen* 'to come' and *schleichen* 'to sneak' (ks-cluster) in the sorting data. The best model predictive of a smaller motion verb lexicon involves having parents that were born abroad, living in the Weststadt and speaking Turkish. Speaking Turkish also explains the non-standard ks-cluster. Since the verb lexicon stands in a special relationship to overall lexical richness (cf. Broeder et al. 1989), these results could have implications for the overall lexicon of speakers with the same background characteristics.

Closer data inspection also revealed that the nonstandard cluster containing *bummeln* 'to saunter' and *rollen* 'to roll' (br-pattern) is particularly present in the Weststadt, and that there are connections to the ks-cluster in the same district. Why this is the case, is unresolved, but an explanation of non-standard clustering choices could involve difficulties to assign meaning, in the first place. A good portion of students, mainly of migrant descent, tried to find meaningful partners for the real pseudoverbs in the test.

Because of the evident phenomena of non-standard meaning assignment, I decided to strengthen my study of the lexicon with a closer investigation of why a subset of students considers certain motion verbs with conceivably different standard meanings as similar within the clusters. The next section discusses this participant-supported investigation of the non-standard ks- and br-patterns.

6.5 Structured Participant Feedback

6.5.1 PARTICIPANTS

In June 2013, a year after the sorting experiment, six of 15 students who had produced the ks-cluster were available for a follow-up interview and a structured elicitation of feedback at their new secondary schools (WSE, four students; NSE, two students). The secondary schools are located within walking distance to elementary schools. Other participants had transitioned to more distant schools, so that it was not possible to locate them. To get more feedback, I also included four students per school who had not produced the ks-cluster in the previous year.[89] Fourteen participants offered their feedback.[90]

With a year between the first experiment and my second meeting with the students I was not convinced it would be possible to find an explanation for the atypical clusters in the students' sorting data. The changes in students' lives and relationships through school transition, along with the fact that some students had visibly entered adolescence, cast doubt on the idea that lexical perception could escape the constant linguistic change young speakers experience. A closer look revealed, however, that in both secondary schools students were still interacting in networks of speakers from their last elementary school

[89] Among them was one student of Brazilian origin from the Weststadt who had participated in the free-sorting experiment the previous year, but whose data was excluded due to her G1.5 status. German was a second-acquired language for this student.

[90] Parents of the children were informed by the school. The IRB forms are included in Appendix A.

year. In the Nordstadt, over half of the class came from my previous experimental group. My observations on the socialization of students are more thoroughly discussed in Chapter 8 of this dissertation. This section focuses on the fact that the non-standard clusters, in fact, did reoccur in students' decisions during a structured elicitation task and that they were now able to offer me their reasons.

6.5.2 PROCEDURES

Instead of simply discussing written examples, I presented real motion stimuli to the students this time. I filmed an actor silently performing different motion types, namely jumping, doing a summersault, crawling, stomping, jumping across two benches, climbing over a fence, walking normally, lazily and quietly. Five motion types were recorded twice from different directions. Each video was 3-5 seconds long. Five of the fourteen videos were my target stimuli: two videos of deliberate, quiet and slow motion reminding of the verb *schleichen* 'to sneak' from two directions; a summersault; and two videos of the actor with a lazy, sauntering gait. I asked the actor to look back deliberately in one of the sneaking-videos, in order to emphasize the directional understanding of 'sneaking away'. The reasoning was that a trajectory away from a source location might trigger a different association than with *kommen* 'to come'. Frames of the sneaking videos are given below in Figures 6.7a and 6.7b.

Figure 6.7a: *Schleichen*-video 1, actor looks back.

Figure 6.7b: *Schleichen*-video 2, actor looks ahead.

All stimuli were presented in randomized order to the students who participated in pairs: in each pair, there was a target student and an observing student. Target students had produced a ks-cluster and in three cases also a br-cluster a year prior to the interview, while observing students had not produced the ks-cluster. The target student of each pair stood in front of a laptop screen, while the observing student video recorded the session for me with a video camera, and hence was by the nature of the task watching his or her partner attentively.

In addition to the video clips, there were fifteen verb sentence cards on a table next to the laptop screen. Table 6.8, below, contains the sentences. The male form was used this time, because the actor in the video was male. These cards were intended to give students

the chance to reconnect to the free-sorting experiment in the past year. They were used in the second step of the test.

1. *Er bummelt.* 'He is sauntering'. 2. *Er geht.* 'He is walking/ leaving'. 3. *Er humpelt.* 'He is hobbling'. 4. *Er hüpft.* 'He is jumping'. 5. *Er klettert.* 'He is climbing'.	6. *Er kommt.* He is coming. 7. *Er krabbelt.* 'He is crawling on all fours'. 8. *Er kriecht.* 'He is crawling/creeping along the ground'. 9. *Er marschiert.* 'He is marching/walking'. 10. *Er purzelt.* 'He is tumbling/doing a somersault'.	11. *Er rollt.* 'He is rolling'. 12. *Er schleicht.* 'He is sneaking'. 13. *Er spaziert.* 'He is taking a walk'. 14. *Er trampelt.* 'He is stomping'. 15. *Er watschelt.* 'He is waddling'.

Table 6.7: Verb sentences with their Standard German meanings.

I first asked each of the target participants to describe in their own words what the screen showed. After they commented on the video clip, I directed the attention to the cards on the table and had the student choose one or more cards that best described the video. Some students created a throng of verbs they regarded as suitable descriptions, others only chose a single verb. With the goal of better understanding students' decision making, I requested an explanation of their choice for the target verbs, in particular. After the target students commented on all fourteen videos, laid out the verbs they found fitting and commented on the target words, I asked the observing student behind the camera whether they would have made the same choices as the target student. The observing students

sometimes offered interesting additions or made clear where they would not have made the same choice.

6.5.3 POSSIBLE EXPLANATIONS OF THE KS-CLUSTER

In four instances, the target students chose *Er schleicht* 'to sneak' and *Er kommt* 'he is coming' as the best descriptions. The first student of Turkish origin in the Nordstadt described the two 'sneaking' clips as follows:

(6.9)

Der	***Mann***	***schleicht***	***und***	***schleicht***	***sich***
3sm	man	sneak.3s	and	sneak.3s	REFL
und	***guckt***	***nach***	***hinten.***		
and	look	DIR	back		

'The man is sneaking and sneaking (reflexive) and looking back'.
(NSE-FB-21, 1.00 min: female, German/Turkish)

(6.10)

Er	***schleicht***	***sich***	***wieder!***
3sm	sneak.3s	REFL	again

Er schleicht sich wieder an!
'He is creeping up [on someone/somebody] again!'
(NSE-FB-21, 6.32 min: female, German/Turkish)

Note that the two sentences contain the reflexive construction *sich schleichen*, which does not exist in Standard German, but only exists in Southern German dialects, where it means that someone 'skedaddles'. The combination of *schleicht und schleicht sich* in sentence (6.9) shows that the student could be familiar with this meaning.

Another interpretation would also fit the students' utterances, however. Descriptive verbs in Standard German can always be combined with directional particles. For instance, *an* 'at/toward' or *ein* 'in/into' could be added to *schleichen*, resulting in composite verb forms, such as *anschleichen* or *einschleichen.* In multiethnolect speech, directional particles are sometimes omitted. Because composite forms with *schleichen* actually require a reflexive pronoun in German, an omission of the directional particle in the example would yield *sich schleichen* as a remnant of the composite form, as in example 6.12. This interpretation would also be in line with the finding that speakers of Turkish background avoid directional particles when using manner verbs (cf. Schroeder 2009, Woerfel 2011, Goschler et al. 2013).

The possibility that directionality played a role was further confirmed when the student added the verb *gehen* 'to go/walk' to *kommen* 'to come' and *schleichen* 'to sneak'. When asked why she chose to describe the video with *kommen* 'to come' the student had difficulty explaining herself. Later a Turkish-speaking boy made the same choice explaining that he grouped *schleichen* with *gehen* and *kommen* 'because he [the agent] has to go somewhere'. For video 1, in which the actor looked back, the boy no longer added *gehen* for a reason he could not explain, but *kommen* remained part of his choice of best descriptions. Evidently, the motion here was not understood with a Southern German interpretation in mind.

In order to see whether all students saw a trajectory in the 'sneaking' videos, I asked an English-speaking student of German-African descent who had not chosen *kommen* along with *schleichen* whether she thought the verb *kommen* could be used to describe the

same video. She replied that this was not possible for her because 'I actually can't see where he is going to'.

A Polish-speaking girl in the Weststadt described video 2 using a generic verb and a modifier in example (6.13):

(6.11)	***Er***	***ist***	***leise***	***gegangen.***
	3sm	AUX	quietly	went

'He quietly walked'. (WSE-FB-73, 0.42 min: female, German/Polish)

She placed a number of verbs next to *schleichen*, including the verb *gehen.* The verb *kommen* appeared below *schleichen*, but not next to it. When arranging cards for video 1, in which the actor looked back, she no longer added *kommen*. When asked why, she answered that the actor was now moving in another direction. Evidently, for her, directionality also played a role. Interestingly, however, the participant's partner, a speaker of Brazilian Portuguese, who was holding the camera, contradicted her with regard to the direction:

(6.12) ***also*** ***er*** ***schleicht*** ***sich*** ***ein…***
Well 3sm sneak.3s REFL in.DIR

ja ***und*** ***da*** ***guckt*** ***er*** ***nach*** ***hinten***
Yes and here look.3s 3sm DIR back

ob ***<u>irgendjemanden</u>*** ***ihn*** ***gesehn*** ***hat.***
whether someone 3s.ACC see.PCPL AUX

ob *irgendjemand* *ihn* *gesehn* *hat.*

'Well, he is sneaking in. Yes and here he is looking back whether someone has seen him'. (WSE-FB-42, 17.50 min: female, German/Brazilian Portuguese)

The use of *einschleichen* with the reflexive pronoun *sich* in sentence (6.12) suggests that the Brazilian-Portuguese speaker saw a different direction in the video than her Polish-speaking friend. It is perhaps worth mentioning that like Turkish but unlike Polish, Portuguese is a V-language that encodes directionality in the verb root. In any case, it appears that directionality along the trajectory of motion is tacitly implied by the mere presence of an agent whose motion is intentional and deliberate. It could be that the action of 'being quiet' emphasizes a certain intention and deliberation, which immediately implies for certain students that there must be a direction of motion.

Further, when a girl of Turkish descent in the Weststadt intensely focused on the card reading *Er kommt* after chosing *Er schleicht* as the best fit for video 2, I asked her what she was looking at. Interrupting herself several times, she gave me the following explanation of why *kommen* was actually part of her perceptual experience when seeing this video.

(6.13) ***wenn*** ***er*** ***schleicht*** ***dann*** ***geht*** ***er*** ***irgendwo*** ***hin.*** […]
If he sneaks then goes he somewhere DIR

er ***möchte*** ***was*** ***erreich*** - […]
he sneaks REFL DIR

er ***schleicht*** ***sich*** ***an***
he sneaks REFL DIR

weil ***er*** ***leise*** ***sein*** ***möchte***
because he quiet be want.3s

und ***irgendwo*** ***hin-gehn*** ***möchte***
and somewhere DIR-go want.3s

'If he sneaks, then he is going somewhere[…] He wants to reach […] He sneaks toward [someone] because he wants to be quiet and wants to go somewhere (WSE-FB-41, 6:32 min: female, German/Turkish)

I followed up by directly asking her whether *Er schleicht.* 'He sneaks'. meant the same as *anschleichen* 'to sneak towards [something]'. The girl provided me with another example. This time her explanation was marked with several omissions:

(6.14) ***beispiel*** ***so*** ***jetzt*** ***erschrecken,***
example FOC now scare

...zum Beispiel *jetzt* *beim* *Erschrecken,*

dann ***schleicht*** ***man*** ***sich*** ***oder*** ***irgendwas***
then sneak 3s REFL or something

Dann *schleicht* *man* *sich* *an* *oder* *irgendwas*
'– for example now [when] to scare [someone]. Then you sneak [reflexive marker] or something' (WSE-FB-41, 7:00 min: female, German/Turkish)

This confirmed my initial impression that for students directionality and intentionality are entailed by the act of sneaking itself. In addition, *sich schleichen* occurs again in an

explanation without a directional particle – and alongside other morphosyntactic omissions. In a regular present tense sentence in Standard German, the composite verbs are separated but the particle has to be realized in the back of the sentence. The reflexive pronoun remains close to the verb stem. The non-standard realizations in (6.9), (6.10) and (6.14) no longer seem to require a particle. The directional sense is evident merely from the remaining reflexive pronoun *sich*. The word stem appears to share a directional interpretation with *kommen* 'to come' for some speakers. Possibly, the influence of V-language backgrounds in the district leads to this outcome because it co-occurs with morphosyntactic omissions.

6.5.4 Possible Explanations of the Br-Cluster

The association of *bummeln* 'to saunter' with *rollen* 'to roll' was more difficult to come by than the ks-cluster. The first participant that added *bummeln* to her description of the summersault along with *gehen* 'to go/walk', *hüpfen* 'to jump' and *rollen* was a female Polish-speaking participant in the Weststadt. She explained that she added the verbs to describe the complete performance of the summersault: the actor walks somewhat slowly, slightly jumps, and then performs a roll. Interestingly, both she and the Brazilian girl filming her did not know the meaning of the verb *purzeln* 'to do a somersault', which is another possible match for the video that other students added. A Turkish participant whom I tested after the two girls was also unaware of the meaning of this verb. The unfamiliarity

with *purzeln* is in line with the earlier clustering results, where the verb occurred in the group of perceived pseudoverbs (Figure 6.6b).

The second speaker who explicitly mentioned the pair *bummeln* 'to saunter' and *rollen* 'to roll' was a Russian-speaking boy ('R'), who commented on his Turkish friend's performance as follows:

(6.15)

R:	***oder***	***grad***	***bei***	***purzelbaum***	***hätt***	***ich***	***auch***	***gesagt.***
	or	just.now	at	somersault	had	1s	too	say.PTCL
	nicht	***nur***	***er***	***rollt,***				
	not	only	3sm	roll.3sm				
	sondern	***auch***	***er***	***bummelt***	***oder***	***so***		
	but	also	he	bummel.3sm	or	so		

'Or just now with the somersault I would have not only said *er rollt* but also *er bummelt* or so'.

D:	*wieso*	*er*	*bummelt*	*und*	*er*	*rollt?*
	Why	3sm	bummel.3sm	and	3sm	roll.3sm

'Why *er bummelt* and *er rollt*?'

R:	***ja,***	***also***	***ich***	***find***	***das***	***passt***	***zusammen***
	Yes,	well	1s	find	that	fit.3s	together
	weil	***er***	***rollt***	***und***	***er***	***bummelt.***	
	because	3sm	roll.3sm	and	3sm	bummel.3sm	

da	***macht***	***er***	***so***	***ein***	***bisschen***	***so***	***tricks***	***glaub***	***ich***
there	do.3sm	3sm	FOC	a	bit	FOC	tricks	believe	1s

'Yes, well I find that fits together, because he is rolling and he is (meaning unclear). He is doing a few tricks there, I think'. (WSE-FB-Roman, 7.35 min: male, German/Russian)

The meaning of *bummeln* in his explanation is opaque, and hence not translated. The student mentions some association with doing tricks. Perhaps the word expresses a kind of ludic and undirected behavior for him. When a girl of Turkish descent placed *bummeln* next to *rollen*, but was unable to explain this association, I asked if she associated it with doing tricks. She was not able to pinpoint where her association between the words came from, and it rather seemed that she had trouble explaining what *bummeln* actually meant to her. Whether a tacit association with non-directionality and ludicrousness can explain the br-cluster remains an open question.

There also could be other forces at work here. As mentioned above, many of my participants apparently dealt with an obscured sense of word meaning in the task, which became particularly clear because they guessed at the meaning of the three pseudo-verbs, placing them in groups with actual verbs. During the interviews discussed in the previous chapter some students actually confirmed this. A girl of Turkish descent told my assistant that 'half of the words' did not exist for her, meaning that she did not know them by any definition. When asked why, she responded that she had never heard such words. Other girls agreed adding that they did not know 'what [the words] mean' (NSE-I2-24, 25, 22, 21, all female, 11.35 min, all Turkish speakers). A boy of Indonesian-Thai descent elaborated on this saying that he 'had some problems, because with a few words I thought they probably exist − but then again maybe they don't, so… I had small problems'. One strategy of coping with such situations may be to make sense of words by guessing. Another way of coping may involve experience. Words that bring a rolling motion in

association with a slow motion, such as in the German word *Bummelzug,* describing a particularly slow train, for instance, may contribute to students' associations. However, students did not mention such associations and my suggestions remain speculative.

6.6 Conclusion

Similar to Broeder et al. (1989:86) who emphasized that 'research on [untutored] second language acquisition should devote no less energy to the lexicon than to syntax, morphology and phonology', this chapter made the case that research on multiethnolects is radically incomplete without paying attention to the lexicon of multiethnolect speakers. I showed that within the same city districts there are substantial differences at the level of the lexicon between multilingual speakers of migrant descent and monolingual speakers that are not of migrant descent. A narrower lexical scope and certain lexical peculiarities are best explained by social and linguistic factors rooted in speakers' immigrant family backgrounds, the districts they live in, and an affiliation with the Turkish-speaking community.

With regard to the conspicuous clusters of *kommen* 'to come' and *schleichen* 'to sneak' (ks-cluster) as well as *bummeln* 'to saunter' and *rollen* 'to roll' (br-cluster) I showed two things: (i) that the ks-cluster is indisputably linked to the Turkish speaking students and (ii) that the br-cluster is prevalent in the Weststadt where it co-occurs with the ks-cluster in several cases. Certain speakers who produce certain non-standard clusters also produce

others. It could be that they are facing unfamiliar meanings or that their definitions of meaning result from other experiences or linguistic influences. In particular, the omission of prepositions in two-part verbs might be leading to the ks-cluster.

The findings of this chapter suggest that the lexicon of speakers is an underestimated realm standing in a special relationship to speakers' background: it looms large under the surface of the more popularly studied morphosyntactic features that are typically associated with multiethnolects and were mentioned in previous chapters of this dissertation. The feedback of my participants also intimates that there is a relationship between findings in the lexicon and certain morphosyntactic patterns.

The next chapter investigates whether the predictors that stand in relation with lexical scope and non-standard clusters in the lexicon, also can predict certain morphosyntactic features of multiethnolects. After testing such relationships, features from morphosyntax and the lexicon will be related to each other, leading to a preliminary model of what could actually be called 'multiethnolect speech' at these two language levels in my participants' data.

7. EVALUATING MULTIETHNOLECT MORPHOSYNTAX

7.1 Introduction

The previous chapter demonstrated that the lexicon of children in Braunschweig's Weststadt (WS) and Nordstadt (NS) is non-homogenous and that there are substantial differences in scope and structure in a single word field of verbs. These differences can be linked to the backgrounds of speakers. This chapter proceeds from the level of the lexicon to the level of morphosyntax, which is more commonly the focus of multiethnolect research. Important questions will be how systematically multiethnolect features occur in children's speech and how such features are connected with the speakers' background. Another important question is, whether morphosyntactic features stand in a relationship to the semantic findings in the previous chapter. If linguistic form and linguistic meaning are related to each other and can be predicted by similar background factors, the view that multiethnolects are more than transient phenomena receives considerably more weight.

The literature review of this chapter begins by discussing the theories that underlie my approach. Section 7.2 contains an introduction of Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) theory of language contact, as well as to the variationist paradigm and method, in particular, when it is applied in contact linguistics. Section 7.3 describes the specific application of the variationist tool set to my study, and Section 7.4 presents the results of such an application. Subsection 7.4.3, in particular, synthesizes these results with findings from the previous chapter. A discussion section in 7.5 brings together the quantitative findings of this

dissertation, visualizes them in a tentative graph and makes preliminary suggestions on how to understand them. The final section of this chapter summarizes the insights we gained, and spells out the implications for the assumptions of non-transmission, youth language and non-nativeness.

7.2 Literature Review

7.2.1 A Framework for Language Contact

The research by Goschler et al. (2013) presented in the last chapter suggested that being a member of the Turkish speaking community is a relevant factor in explaining the structure of motion events in the *Kiezdeutsch* Corpus. Likewise, my analysis of the lexicon showed that language contact with Turkish likely influences lexical scope and certain sorting choices (like grouping the verbs *kommen* 'to come, arrive' and *schleichen* 'to sneak' together). Therefore, a theoretic tool set to address language contact is necessary for the remainder of this dissertation.

A model that strongly advocates integrating the sociohistoric environment into an explanation of language contact is the framework of Thomason & Kaufman (1988). According to them, 'the history of a language is a function of the history of its speakers, and not an independent phenomenon that can be thoroughly studied without reference to the social context in which it is embedded' (ibid:4). Thomason & Kaufman's model begins

with the general distinction between genetic[91] and non-genetic language change. In short, genetic change takes place in absence of interfering social factors and language contact. It can occur at all levels of the linguistic system (phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics etc.), is transmitted from parent generation and peers to the child generation under stable sociolinguistic conditions, and allows only for one ancestor language (ibid:9-12).[92] Non-genetic change, by contrast, typically occurs under socially less stable conditions and involves more than one language background leading to an outcome with multiple ancestor languages. Using the metaphor of a forest, Thomason and Kaufman (1988:57) suggested that contact situations should be understood as complex interconnected systems rather than 'as a collection of isolated trees'. Thomason (2008:49) later reemphasized that languages in a contact situation must be looked at 'as wholes: if structural interference of any kind has occurred, it is highly unlikely to be isolated in the system'.

Thomason & Kaufman (1988) also found that the direction of contact often determines the linguistic outcome: there is a substantial difference between cases of so-called *borrowing* where features from a non-native language are incorporated into one's first language, as opposed to cases of *interference*, where features from one's first language are carried over to a second language. In borrowing situations, speakers maintain their native

[91] The authors use the term 'genetic' language change instead of the term 'internally' motivated language change which is more common in sociolinguistics when contrasted with 'externally' motivated language change.

[92] The construct of monolingualism as the normative situation in speech communities of the world is highly problematic, but will not be discussed here, due to the scope of my project. A critical discussion of different notions of language transmission as well as 'first' and 'second' language acquisition was provided in Chapter 5.

language, and borrowing occurs most frequently at the level of the lexicon. By contrast, interference usually occurs in the context of language shift, while outcomes differ depending on the intensity of contact and the degree of shift. Rapid language shift, that is, shift in only a few generations, usually leads to a variety of the target language (TL) that is marked by features of interference, 'though the adoption of these features by original TL speakers may take more time' (ibid:41). The situation in Europe, where feature adoption by monolingual autochthonous youth is a current phenomenon, as language shift in immigrant families is in progress, corresponds to this description.

The idea that 'shifting speakers are likely to fail to acquire marked features of the TL' (ibid:51) also is reminiscent of developments in Europe; the complex inflectional morphology of Germanic languages, the three-way gender distinction of German, and the elaborate systems of pronouns and prepositions are all examples of 'marked' features that were affected in the process of language shift in the immigrant community, as Chapter 4 showed. The question is, however, whether these processes of 'unmarking' are true contact phenomena. Thomason (2008:49f) suggested a list of conditions that should be fulfilled before claiming that language contact is at work:

i. identifying evidence of contact at several language levels
ii. identifying a source language
iii. identifying shared structural features in the source and receiving language

iv. identifying features in the receiving language that have changed only since the receiving language has been in contact with the source language

v. proving that the interference features were present in the source language before it came into contact with the receiving language

Condition number (ii) appears difficult to fulfill in the European context. As mentioned, there seldom is a single source language in neighborhoods with migration history. Also, Sankoff (2002) mentioned the possibility of source language influences and universal processes having the same outcome:

> The massive migration of foreign workers into northern European countries, where most languages have relatively rich inflectional morphology, has led to a fertile field of investigation into the new varieties of these languages as spoken by immigrants and their children. However, it has been less easy to document substrate influences on morphological regularization given that similar results can be explained by, e.g. universal processes of simplification (Sankoff 2002: 656).

With regard to situations like these, Thomason (2008) clarified that managing exclusive evidence is not the goal of her conditions. In fact, she believes that sufficient conditions to explain any type of change – be it internally or externally motivated – are currently out of reach:

> [B]ecause calculating the social and linguistic probabilities is so difficult, indeed impossible, now and for the foreseeable future, we can reasonably talk only about NECESSARY conditions for change, not about SUFFICIENT conditions for change. In other words, we cannot predict when or whether change will occur. This is as true of contact-induced change as it is of internally-motivated change: even the most intense contact situations don't always lead to significant contact-induced changes, just as the most common internally-motivated changes often fail to occur. (Thomason 2008:49)

In other words, Thomason & Kaufman's (1988) theory does not make predictions, but merely opens the range of possibilities that exists in a given contact situation. A frequent

critique of Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) work has therefore been that 'anything goes' in their theory. Such criticism is based on a difference in the general approach to linguistic data: the alternative to Thomason's (2008) approach would be to formulate stronger assumptions. However, as Chapters 3 and 4 explained, the problem of multiethnolect research in Europe is precisely that current studies are based on strong assumptions: the declaration that multiethnolects are youth languages, the idea that they are not under the influence of learner varieties, or the claim that children do not acquire these new ways of speaking as first language influences. None of these assumptions are supported by substantial data sets. The type of broadly empirical, bottom-up approach taken in work as recent as Cheshire et al'.s (2011; see below) has to be much more generally applied in the study of multiethnolects for deeper insights to emerge. Within such a framework, Thomason's (2008) criteria can help locate features that have a possible origin in language contact. The variationist approach introduced in the next subsection, in particular, benefits from these criteria when applied to multiethnolects.

7.2.2 VARIATIONIST PARADIGM

Quantitative approaches in sociolinguistics are often framed in the variationist paradigm, a set of theoretical views, research methods and analytical tools developed mainly by William Labov (cf. Labov 1972, 1994, 2001). Together with his teacher Uriel Weinreich, Labov developed the concept of 'structured heterogeneity' (cf. Weinreich et al 1968), i.e.,

the idea that a speaker's repertoire consists of an ordered set of registers. In this view, speech is seen as inherently variable, and different registers are available to speakers in different social contexts. However, at the core of the variability of natural speech lies an analyzable linguistic unit: it is called 'the vernacular' and is defined as 'the form of language first-acquired, perfectly learned'.[93] Thus, the vernacular precedes all other registers in acquisition; it is acquired more effortlessly and with less conscious monitoring of the acquisition process than all other registers. The concept is necessarily related to the notion of linguistic 'nativeness'.

According to the variationist approach, linguistic variation between speakers within a community can only be documented if it is observed in speakers' vernacular. Labov noted that the effort to document how speakers talk in the most natural manner creates the so-called 'Observer's Paradox' in the face-to-face interview: the presence of the researcher usually influences speakers' register choice towards a more standard rendition of speech. Attempts to solve this paradox usually consist of distracting speakers from the interview situation by eliciting personal narratives that are highly relevant to the speaker, such as stories of survival and critical danger, and by giving speakers topics that are apparently unrelated to language use. Using methods of distraction combined with a formal elicitation of background data became known as the *sociolinguistic interview* (cf. Wolfram 2011:302f).

[93] http://www.ling.upenn.edu/~wlabov/sfs.html (last retrieved Jan. 29th 2015)

The analysis of the interview data proceeds by identifying and coding linguistic features in the vernacular of speakers and then relating them to social background features of speakers such as age, gender, district, ethnicity or socioeconomic background (often coded as 'social class' in Labov's work). The type of coding for the dependent variable depends on the nature of the linguistic feature: binary coding can express the presence or absence of a feature in a speaker's vernacular, while continuous coding is applied to phonological measurements, for instance. In short, the identifying characteristic of any variationist study is that non-linguistic factors are used alongside linguistic factors to make statistical predictions over linguistic features.

Several concepts that are shared by sociolinguists today have their roots in the early application of variationist theory in Labov's (1966) dissertation study of the use of /r/ in Manhattan's Lower East Side (LES). Here, he introduced the concepts of the speech community, of apparent-time and real-time observations in the community, the concept of age-grading, as well as the theory of feature spread through transmission, incrementation and diffusion. A pilot study revealed correlation patterns between post-vocalic /r/ use of employees in high-prestige, middle-range and low-prestige department stores in LES, and their socioeconomic status and age. Labov hypothesized that older members of the high-status groups overall exhibited lower rates of use of post-vocalic /r/, because they had learned to avoid post-vocalic /r/ in an Anglophile pre-war school setting, while younger speakers were the driving force behind the innovation of a standard American post-vocalic /r/. Surprisingly though, post-vocalic /r/ was also produced by upper-middle class adult

speakers in interview speech. According to Labov, these speakers were aware of the feature's rising prestige, and were acquiring the feature while younger speakers in their own social group were still unaware of the development.

An immediate question related to these results concerns the boundaries of the 'speech community' Labov was analyzing: was he dealing with New York residents in general? Was he concerned with specific ethnic groups or networks of speakers? Which criteria did he use to define his speaker group? Patrick (2002) summarized Labov's approach as follows:

> Labov's method in New York was to delimit a sample first by applying social criteria, then by raising issues of competence via acquisition patterns (excluding non-native speakers of English, and of NYC English), and finally by analysis of linguistic structure (e.g. the ultimate separation of African American speakers on phonological grounds). The notion of community guiding the LES survey was primarily defined not by interaction, shared norms, or social stratification, but residence. The LES was selected because (1) the city's main social classes and ethnic groups were well represented, (2) it was a focus for both social mobility and local loyalty, (3) as a former port of entry the influence of immigrant groups could be tested, and (4) residential structure was typical of the city and allowed for interaction between social groups. There was no requirement of strong social bonds or coherence (even his 1989 definition begins 'an aggregate of speakers', Labov 1989:2). No linguistic criteria were applied (Patrick 2002:585f).

In other words, Labov empirically arrived at the linguistic boundaries of the speech community in the course of his work. According to Patrick (2002:584), Labov was 'the first to posit both shared norms and linguistic uniformity (as structured variation), in that order, as criteria for identifying a [speech community]'. The term 'linguistic uniformity' refers to the potential of the community members to socially interpret each other's inherently variant repertoire, in light of the shared social and cultural norms. In a way, the current description of many European multiethnolects as youth languages is antithetical to the variationist approach: it creates presuppositions before putting data to the test.

Beginning with the residence (or district), a variationist study would gradually arrive at conclusions about the actual speech community of multiethnolects. Elsewhere, Labov emphasized that researchers should not assume 'that a group of people who speak alike are a fundamental unit of social behavior' (cf. Labov 1994:4f). Focusing on districts, gradually determining who multiethnolect speakers are and progressively uncovering the roots of their speech practices is his understanding of the variationist project.

Underlying the LES study is also a specific view of how a change spreads throughout the speech community (cf. Labov 2007). According to this view, children acquire variation as found in a specific dialect from their parents through an unbroken chain of transmission. The actual role of children in the advancement of new features is disputed, but several studies speak to the fact that children reproduce their parents' forms faithfully, albeit with developmental variation. Roberts (2002:342) summarizes her research on the diphthong [a͡ɪ] as in *kite*, in a Philadelphia preschool and in interactions between mothers and their children from Memphis, and shows how children reproduce early input by their female caregivers, in particular. She concludes that 'variation is present, and sometimes exaggerated, in first language input from very early ages' (ibid:343) and is mirrored by children's output. At the same time, however, there is also developmental variation at these early stages. Roberts suggests that children eventually move from developmental variation to realizations that are near-categorical in terms of the parental dialect input.[94]

[94] There are situations in which parental input can become even more crucial: in my discussion of koinéization, in Chapter 5, I mentioned Trudgill's (2004) assessment that caregiver input can be even more important if the linguistic surroundings do not offer a stable feature orientation. In light of this finding, I

While there is little doubt in a prominent role of parents as first-input sources, there also is a shared view that vernacular forms accelerate during adolescence and that the peer-group emerges as a new orientation in the linguistic landscape due to the social and institutional changes speakers experience (at least in Western society). It is unclear, however, when the shift from a concentration on adults to the dominance of the peer group actually occurs. Roberts (2002:344) sees it as a main challenge for child variation researchers to determine 'the point at which children stop primarily imitating the social meaning of adults and begin to utilize language socially themselves'. In his LES-study, Labov (1966) showed how young speakers not only employ new language features but also turn to leaders in ongoing language change.

There are two routes by which change generally is said to occur. One is 'change from below' by 'incrementation'. In the LES study, the frequency of post-vocalic /r/ use in the upper middle class increased from generation to generation, while youngest speakers were the actual leaders of the change. The change was barely recognized in the beginning but gained speed through the expansive use of a feature with every new generation. 'Change from above', by contrast, refers to elements from outside language systems that gain social prestige. In the case of the LES study, linguistically aware adults of the upper middle class adopted the American post-vocalic /r/ from a group with high prestige, namely, young

emphasized that there is no reason to exclude the possibility of a parental influence on speakers exhibiting multiethnolect features. Rather, we should assume that influences from parents take place as in other acquisition situations. The variationist paradigm is based on the transmission assumption by hypothesis and by actual data from studies such as those discussed by Roberts (2002).

economically successful members of the upper class. So, prestigious linguistic features can be imported from outside one's own social group: they can spread in the community by way of 'diffusion', bypassing transmission and incrementation.

With regard to the studies of multiethnolects in Europe, a special type of prestige is said to favor diffusion: Auer (2003) explained how features spread beyond the immigrant community in spite of their socially marked character through the media. Similar developments are observed in the U.S., when lexical and structural items from African American Vernacular English become broadly used in mainstream communication, for instance. Labov (2006:85) termed this attractiveness of using socially marked forms in the majority community 'covert prestige'.

How are features with prestige – overt or covert – recognized and eventually adopted? According to Weinreich et al. (1968), evaluation of a feature eventually decides how speakers respond to it. In the case of Labov's (1966) LES study, for instance, the /r/-adoption of certain adults served their social intent of associating with the upper class. Later, Labov (1971) suggested that there are three indexical categories in the evaluative process: features may be indicators, markers or stereotypes. Eckert (2008) explained these terms as follows:

> In Labov's terms, *indicators* are dialectal variables that distinguish social or geographic categories but have attracted no notice and do not figure in variation across the formality continuum. *Markers* and *stereotypes* are variables that have attracted sufficient attention to emerge within those categories in stylistic variation. The difference between markers and stereotypes lies in the level of consciousness: stereotypes are subject to metapragmatic discussion, while markers are not. (Eckert 2008:463, emphasis original)

The three-way distinction can also be applied to Labov's LES study. The /r/-value had risen to different levels of awareness among adults in the 1960s: upper middle class adults were employing the feature consciously while adults of all other groups were not. For them, it apparently had reached the status of a marker, since the adoption of the feature is deliberate, yet not accompanied by the same meta-discussion it received in earlier generations when speakers were actively told to avoid post-vocalic /r/ as a social marker. In many parts of the speech community of the LES study, however, the feature turned into an indicator, because it was no longer a marker or stereotype that was consciously employed or avoided.[95]

7.2.3 VARIATIONIST STUDIES IN CONTACT LINGUISTICS

Although Labov anticipated that the variationist paradigm would reach its limit in bilingual communities due to issues of complexity (cf. Labov 2001), his LES study effectively deals with a speech community rooted in immigration. Several studies subsequently attempted to apply variationist methodology to the context of immigration, which is typically also the site of language contact. Sankoff (2002:640) reviewed these studies that involve 'more social parameters, more daunting inter-individual variation and major sampling and other methodological problems'. Summarizing studies conducted in the Asian and Hispanic immigrant communities with a focus on phonology or syntax, she concluded that in most

[95] Note that Goschler et al'.s (2013:248) classification of their findings as 'genuine sociolinguistic markers' in the previous chapter should not be confused with Labovian terminology. In Labovian terms, subconsciously distinctive features would be called 'indicators'.

cases complete language shift occurs within only few generations. Exceptions 'tend to be cases in which the immigrant group and its descendants have become a local majority population, often geographically isolated' (ibid:646). Here bilingualism becomes the norm and leads to lasting contact between English and the community language. Hispanic neighborhoods in the U.S. are examples of such relatively stable contact environments (e.g. Bills 1977, Santa Ana 1993, Fought 2002).

Cases of social and geographical isolation of immigrant groups are reminiscent of the contexts in which the first guest workers in Europe settled and in which multiethnolects exist today, as Chapter 2 showed. However, there also are differences. One difference is perhaps that coherent ethnic districts of immigrants of the same origin (as prevalent in Boston, New York or L.A.) are becoming less common in Europe. Rather, immigrant districts and neighborhoods, such as those in Braunschweig, host a highly variable and city-specific composition of ethnic and linguistic minorities that contrasts with a more homogenous majority society. This diversity of immigrant neighborhoods recently received attention under the label 'superdiversity' (cf. Blomaert 2012), a term that points to the difficulties that compound in Europe's immigration contexts for the variationist paradigm. At the time I am writing this dissertation, there has been only a single variationist study of the phenomenon of multiethnolects, namely the project on Multiethnolect London English (MLE; Cheshire et al. 2008, 2011). I will briefly discuss this study as an example for the benefits and drawbacks of applying variationist methods to a highly diverse environment.

Cheshire et al. (2011) investigated the vowel inventory, morphological past tense markers and discourse markers of multiethnolect speakers, setting out with a Labovian approach to the speech community: participants in the study have to be residents in the London district of Hackney, a highly diverse migrant district. Cheshire et al. (2011:151) did not assume they were dealing with a youth language. Rather, this was subject to an investigation led by the following four major questions: '(1) what features characterize MLE; (2) at what age(s) are they acquired; (3) is MLE vernacularised; and (4) when did MLE emerge, and what factors enabled this?' Cheshire et al. (2011) further specified their endeavor:

> [G]iven that, in a high contact community, transmission between generations may involve a stage of language shift, how do features first form and then develop? Given that these types of high-contact communities are often isolated from the mainstream for both sociocultural reasons and the economic factor of poverty, how are global changes adopted, and adapted there? (Cheshire et al. 2011:156)

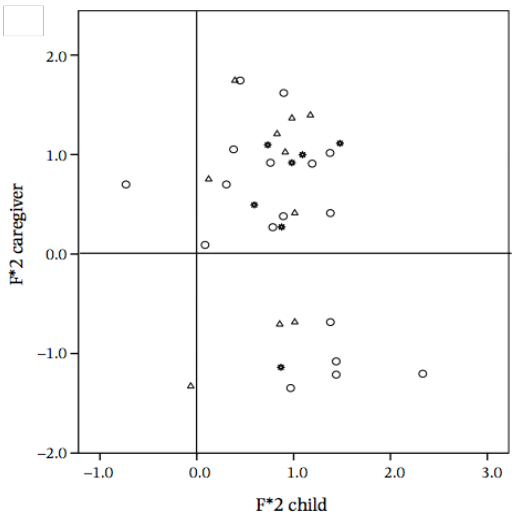
To answer these questions, 250 speakers were interviewed in two projects. I will focus on the authors' second project, in which the focus is on the age groups 4–5, 8–9, 12–13, 16–19 and two caregiver groups of ca. 25 and ca. 40 years of age. The language features under investigation came from several levels: vowel innovations, a new quotative marker, the past tense of BE, and the simplification of indefinite and definite article allomorphy. I will concentrate on the findings in the vowel inventory to exemplify how a variationist analysis can be employed in the setting of multiethnic, immigrant neighborhoods in Europe.

Cheshire et al. (2011) began with a real time trend study comparing interview recordings of adolescent MLE speakers and natural speech recordings of Patois speakers

from the 1980s. The comparison revealed that the vowel inventory of Patois, a London type of Jamaican English, and the vowels of MLE are strikingly similar: '[a]ll the diphthongs (FACE, GOAT, MOUTH and PRICE) have almost identical values' (ibid:163). Although the authors acknowledged a clear correspondence, they understood this as evidence that MLE borrowed from Jamaican Patois. For this, they claimed, Patois speakers lived too far spread out across neighborhoods. Instead, similarities between the Patois inventory and other ethnic inventories of English suggested to the authors that the MLE vowels come from a feature pool within which many vowels have strong similarity to Patois. In particular, the difference between so-called *goose*-fronting in MLE and Patois is mentioned as evidence that at least some features must have entered MLE through another route than direct transmission (ibid:163f).

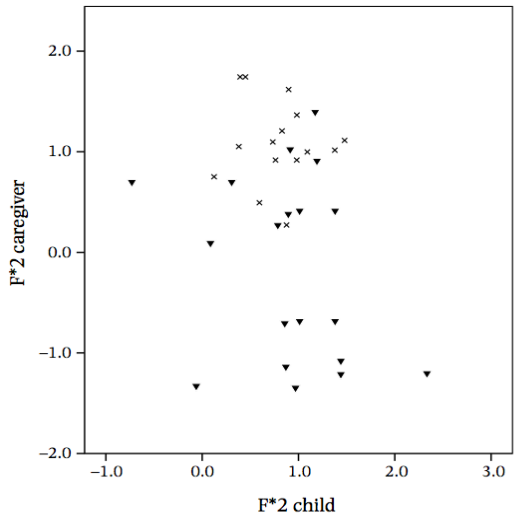
Unlike the Patois speakers, however, MLE speakers did not shift to formal style during the sociolinguistic interviews. Cheshire et al. (2011:164) saw this as evidence that 'the vernacular base line has changed from one which was largely Cockney (in the 1980s) to a variant of MLE today'. In an adult group, Cheshire et al. (2011:165) also found the MLE inventory – albeit, only among speakers of migrant descent, not among the two Anglos in the group, who happen to be females. The authors conclude that 'it is apparent […] that MLE is not just a youth variety, since these young adults use features associated with it'. In an attempt to determine at what age the features of MLE are first used, the authors consult the data of non-Anglo children. They find a 'more or less complete set of MLE

values' in the children's data, concluding that MLE is not limited to adolescents but is a vernacular with features found at all age levels.



△= age 4–5; ○= age 8–9; ✷=age 12–13

Figure 7.1a: Correlation between children and caregivers' GOOSE (F2).



×=U.K. born; ▼ = non-U.K. born

Figure 7.1b: Correlation between children and caregivers' GOOSE (F2), by place of birth of caregiver.

Further on, the authors correlated the children's F2-values of FACE and GOOSE with their caregivers' F2 values, claiming that there is no correlation between caregivers and children. Based on the correspondence values R^2= 0.57 and p = 0.174, the authors interpreted the scatter plot as showing that children resist acquiring parental variants from a larger feature pool if they are 'too saliently non-local' such as 'a majority of non-U.K. born caregivers [having] a very back GOOSE vowel (a minus value for the transformed

F2)' (Cheshire et al. 2011:168).[96] They concluded that 'the youngest children are not influenced by their principal caregiver's pronunciation of these two vowels' (ibid:167) and that 'by age 4–5, and certainly by 8, children have moved firmly away from their caregivers' (Ibid:169). The authors further identified two clusters in the plot, depicted above in Figures 7.1a and 7.1b. In an attempt to explain the clusters' origin, the authors found the patterns 'characteristic of group second-language learning, where native models are not necessarily available, either because the caregivers use a non-native variety or because English is not spoken at home or, if it is, it is used mainly between siblings' (ibid:171).

In summary, while the work by Cheshire et al. (2011) called into question the assumption of multiethnolects as youth languages, the authors confirmed the distance between caregivers and their children in line with arguments of non-transmission and non-nativeness. This time, however, the authors gave numeric support for their argument. They explained that children are not acquiring non-native features from their parents because these parents cannot offer adequate linguistic orientation in English, since it is not their native language. Children prefer input sources that are recognizable and stable in the linguistic landscape around them, according to Cheshire et al. (2011).

When analyzing these results somewhat closer, however, the lack of a significant p-value simply means that Cheshire et al. (2011) fail to reject the null hypothesis, meaning

[96] The R^2 value references the proportion of the variance that can be explained by the correlation. In many contexts of data interpretation in the humanities and social sciences the value r-square = 0.57 would actually be seen as a fairly high correlation, as in my interpretation of data below.

that there is currently no significant reason to believe that there is a relationship between children's output and parents' input. Apart from this, the authors could have mentioned that over half of the children in Figure 7.1b align well with their parents, and that only nine of nineteen data points are in the negative range. When Cheshire et al. (2011) attempt to discover where the clustering behavior comes from by classifying parents by their place of birth (British vs. non-British), the result shows that half of the children from foreign-born mothers lie in the lower cluster, while the other half with a foreign-born mother aligns with the children that have native-born mothers. In other words, while this distribution does not suffice to reject the null hypothesis, it is at the same time all but clear that non-transmission provides a good explanation. Rather, one could assume that some children are influenced by their non-native parents' speech, while others are not.

Further, Cheshire et al.'s (2011) conclusion stands in contrast to the fact that the majority of the children above and below eight to nine years of age in Figure 7.1a align with their parents, and the main group of children that have visibly moved away from their caregivers, are eight to nine year olds with a foreign-born mother. Cheshire et al. (2011) do not mention this pattern. Perhaps they lack a way of relating the pattern of eight year olds with foreign-born mothers to linguistic or social factors. In any case, the position of non-nativeness appears speculative as long as further quantitative data about the linguistic and social environment of children is missing.

Although there can be different interpretations of Cheshire et al.'s (2011) results, their application of the variationist method has many advantages: contrary to most

ethnographically based studies, they took a geographic approach to the speech community and investigated the community's internal structure and boundaries. They conducted a quantitative analysis of the relationship between linguistic features and predictive factors, which substantially facilitates following and discussing the authors' claims. Multiethnic neighborhoods, in particular, require a careful elicitation of factors related to migration, because a multitude of factors are potentially at work: the birthplace of parents, the socioeconomic situation, and language practices at home, for instance. In what follows, I will use my quantifications from Chapter 5 to discuss morphosyntactic features in the speech of participants in Braunschweig's Weststadt and Nordstadt.

7.3 Methodology

7.2.1 PARTICIPANTS

Thirty-six of the 66 speakers that participated in the free-sorting experiment (Chapter 6), volunteered to complete an additional video-retelling: 25 students came from the Nordstadt elementary school (NSE; 12 monolingual, 13 multilingual) and 11 from the Weststadt elementary school (WSE; 5 monolingual, 6 multilingual). Overall, 17 participants in this subgroup were monolingual and 19 were multilingual. The disparate representation of districts was due to time limitations. However, because features in the speech of speakers are treated as data points (and speakers themselves are not single data points), this initial disparity is less problematic. All students in the sample were born in Germany and spoke

the following languages besides German: Arabic (3), unidentified African language (1), Greek (1), Kurdish (1), Mandarin & Cantonese (1), Polish (1), Thai & Indonesian (1), and Turkish (10). An unfortunate side effect of the underrepresentation of the Weststadt is that Polish and Russian speakers are largely absent from this subsample. The next chapter partially compensates for this shortcoming by adding observations on these groups, in particular.

As discussed above, in the variationist tradition, the concept of the speech community is usually constructed from the bottom up. Based on the observation that students who were born abroad are more common at the WSE than the NSE, and the fact that students with academic parents are more common at the NSE than the WSE, I included two students to the sample that were not included in the previous chapter: a Brazilian-born girl attending the WSE who spoke Brazilian-Portuguese and Italian, and a monolingual German girl of a higher socio-economic group attending the NSE. These two students lived in the neighborhoods, stood in close interaction with their peers, and their data reflects language that children at the respective schools produce and are exposed to on an every-day basis. These two students had also participated in the free-sorting experiment, but their data had been excluded. I was able to add their data for the analysis of this chapter. In the end, the number of speakers in the study was 38, with 26 from the NSE and 12 from the WSE.

7.2.2 PROCEDURES

Due to the general set-up of my study in a school environment with a consent procedure based on institutional trust, it was not appropriate to hold individual interviews with children that involved questions that were too personal in nature. Questions about the treatment of foreigners in Germany or the students school transition were part of the group interviews discussed in Chapter 5. The data pointed to a number of multiethnolect features, but was gathered only for purposes of locating the phenomenon and not in a systematic way.

For the purpose of obtaining comparable amounts of natural speech data for different speakers in a more controlled environment while minimizing the observer's paradox, the 38 participants in this study completed a retelling task of a topic of shared interest. The stimulus for the task was a two-minute video clip showing a young boy of African descent working out in a park, before a man taller and older than him, and evidently of German descent, approaches him and begins to threaten him. Another man who is evidently not of German descent witnesses the scene and alarms a number of friends for help. Around 20 boys wearing white hoodies rush to the boy's aid. The video combines experiences that are not uncommon for children and teenagers in immigrant neighborhoods of Germany: negative experiences such as racism and violence go hand in hand with experiences of friendship, teamwork, athletics, and a creative youth culture.

Throughout the video, there is a strong emphasis on motion events, because the 'rescuers' climb out of windows, overcome obstacles or are working out before being

called to the aid of the boy (see Figures 7.2a and 7.2b below). At the end of the video the boys have the perpetrator cornered. However, instead of committing an act of aggression, a boy politely asks the aggressor to leave his friend alone. This last scene was the only scene in the video with a speech component (i.e. the polite question), whereas all other scenes had no sound, as to minimize distractions.

Before letting the polite boy at the very end of the video speak, we asked participants what they thought he was about to say to the aggressor. This question was meant to distract participants: if information about the task leaked to the school halls, we wanted it to be about the story, and not about any linguistic aspects of the task. Indeed, rumors we later heard among students on the school hallway showed that students focused on the content and not any linguistic aspects of the task. At the same time, students' perception of the story line differed, so that substantial priming effects can be excluded.

Figures 7.2a and 7.2b: Boys in the video, rushing to a friend's aid.

Students were given instructions at the outset of the task: The 19 sequences of 3-8 seconds would be presented on a laptop with students facing the screen. The complete task would be recorded with a directional microphone and a digital photo camera in front of them. After recounting all sequences individually, students had to retell a complete version of their understanding of the story. This final portion of the retelling data was only used in the data exploration. It mainly ensured that students paid attention from the beginning to the end of the main task.

We told students at the beginning of their task that they would have to recount the story whenever we paused the video in a way that 'friends are able to imagine what you saw'. In this way, we hoped to present a register choice while encouraging an elaborate version of the story. The most important prompt for a maximally natural register choice was the video itself: the video's suspenseful story line kept students interested – with a similar effect to typical 'danger of death' questions, hence minimizing the observer's paradox. With actors from various ethnic backgrounds, students could easily relate to the story. In addition, the fact that I participated in the video at two points served as an icebreaker: students usually smiled and several directly asked whether they had seen me in the video, creating a more relaxed atmosphere.

At the same time, our instructions asked for an elaborate account. Unless there were technical difficulties, questions regarding the instructions, or a student appeared not to understand the task, my assistant and I remained silent. We did encourage students, however, to speak more if they were too short, by asking 'Is that it?' or 'Is that all you see?'

This was only necessary in three cases. The resulting 38 recordings were approximately six minutes long, and contained 300 words on average in the first part and 150 words on average for the summary. The summaries varied more in length due to the free format of the second task.[97] With 19 short sequences to be described in the first task, the estimated average length of individual descriptions is 16 words. The next subsection discusses how the analysis of this data proceeded.

7.2.3 ANALYSIS

The goal of any variationist analysis is to find relationships between feature variation and the social or linguistic environments that predict their occurrence. This subsection will briefly discuss the statistical methods that were employed in the analysis of the 13 non-standard morphosyntactic features that occurred in my participants' speech data.[98] The reason for focusing on all non-standard features, instead of limiting the analysis to features that were mentioned in previous studies of multiethnolects, is the possibility that earlier research did not capture certain features. A full transcription of all speech data is not necessary for the steps described below. Rather, features and their environments were discovered and transcribed in a gradual process.

[97] Not all stories were transcribed in their entirety, since the variationist analysis only targeted the most common non-standard grammatical features (see Sub-subsection 7.3.3.2 and Subsection 7.3.2, below). The word count was estimated based on six fully transcribed video-retellings of average length.
[98] For a more detailed presentation of the steps in my analysis see Appendix E.

7.2.3.1 Data Exploration

In a first step, all recordings were listened to and all non-standard feature occurrences were systematically noted and explored. Immediate contexts of non-standard features were transcribed and listed for every speaker in a table. Examples of every feature are given in Sub-subsection 7.6.1.1 below. Subsequently, the non-standard features were counted for each speaker and across speakers, resulting in a co-variation matrix with the overall occurrences per speaker in rows and the number of specific feature occurrences in the data (across speakers) in columns. Any implicational relationships between features gradually became apparent that way.

Rickford (2002) extensively discussed implicational scales in variationist data analysis. The approach is based on the observation that frequent feature occurrences in a data set often precede less frequent ones in a quasi-implicational order. Accordingly, the occurrence of less frequent features can point to more frequent ones in a specific speaker's speech data. Table 7.1 presents a formalized and idealized example of a reordered matrix.

Features (no): / Speakers:	B (20)	A (13)	C (9)	E (4)	D (2)
Speaker 2	x	x	x	x	x
Speaker 3	x	x	x	-	-
Speaker 1	x	x	-	-	-
Speaker 4	x	-	-	-	-

Table 7.1: Reordered feature matrix pointing to an implicational order.

Feature occurrences of B are the most frequent overall, and precede all other features. The formalized implicational order for the data would write D→(E →(C→(A →B))),

indicating that D can occur only together with all other features preceding D in rank. The same holds for any feature with regard to its predecessors in rank. As a result of the implicational reordering of features, speakers take on different positions on a hierarchy of feature use: speaker 2 exhibits all features in the set, followed by speaker 3 who uses all features but E and D (the least frequent), and so forth.

Of course, idealized implicational scales rarely occur in real speech data. It takes large amounts of data to substantiate general claims of order. However, reordering speakers in a possible implicational scale can help understand the tentative implicational relationships between features and social factors on the one hand, and between features amongst each other, on the other hand. When highlighting participant rows by district of origin, for instance, a relationship between the 'breadth' or 'depth' of a speaker's feature repertoire and socioeconomic background may emerge.

To make more accurate statements about relationships between the number of feature occurrences and a number of background factors, the researcher can use regression modeling as in the previous chapter (see Appendix E). After gathering a first impression, I built regression models over the sum of features using the same predictors as previously, namely (i) district (ii) perceived primary language environment, (iii) subjective language dominance, (iv) parents born abroad, (v) being a Turkish speaker and (vi) gender. Considerations behind the choice of these variables were laid out in detail in Chapter 6. Recall, that these factors cover the most important aspects of socioeconomic influence, the linguistic environment and of migration background. Because some studies of

multiethnolect morphosyntactic features also mention a male primacy in the usage of multiethnolect features (cf. Auer 2003), gender was also tested.

After exploring the hierarchy of non-standard features and testing the relationships between background factors and the overall sum of feature occurrences per speaker, the investigation proceeded by building logistic mixed models and testing which predictors accounted best for the three most frequent features in the data set, namely dative replacement, gender variation and article omission.

7.2.3.2 Logistic Mixed Model Analysis of Three Features

The three most frequent non-standard features in the data were accusatives that replaced Standard German datives, a variation in gender assignment, and the lack of articles in positions where Standard German requires them. 'Frequent' is to be understood in relative terms: overall, the feature count across speakers was low. However, certain non-standard features occurred more frequently than others. The standard method of analyzing binary linguistic variation is logistic regression. When using multiple data points per speaker, a mixed model is necessary, because data points are not independent from each other. Introducing the number of speakers as an additional independent variable, mixed models result in a regression analysis with random intercepts, which compensates for the lack of independent observations.

A number of preparatory steps and considerations preceded the analysis. First, it was necessary to code every standard and non-standard occurrence of the three features in the data. Table 7.2 summarizes this step and shows the distributions in numbers.

Feature:	Total tokens:	Standard:	Non-Standard:
1. All dative contexts	424	375	49
2. All instances of gender marking	945	922	23
3. All article contexts	631	620	11

Table 7.2: Summary of the three most frequent features

It is clear from the distribution that the occurrences of non-standard features are overall low: The first row shows that there were 424 dative contexts with 375 standard datives, and 49 realizations as accusatives. Overall grammatical gender was assigned 945 times in the data. 922 gender assignments were standard and 23 gender assignments were non-standard. In the 631 dative and accusative contexts in which German and most of its dialects usually require an article, 620 articles were realized and 11 were omitted.[99]

Before arriving at Table 7.2, the grammatical contexts in which features did or did not occur were considered. It became apparent that article omissions did not occur in the nominative case. With 267 instances this non-occurrence was apparently systematic, which

[99] Note, that the overall non-standard feature count in the multivariate analysis is slightly lower than the counts in my data exploration, because students' summary of the video clip was not included in the variationist analysis.

is why the nominative was excluded from the analysis of article omission in order not to skew results. Table 7.3, below, shows the summary of case contexts in which article omissions occurred. Subtracting the nominatives from the total number leaves the 631 contexts that were analyzed. The most common context for article omissions are contexts in which locative prepositions require the dative case. Locatives are also the context in which prepositions are omitted along with articles, as several studies of German multiethnolects mention (cf. Chapter 3).

	Was an article present?		
case contexts:	no	yes	total
nominative:	0	267	267
accusative:	3	298	301
dative:	8	320	328
genitive:	0	2	2
total:	11	887	898

Table 7.3: Case contexts in which article omissions occurred.

Realizations of datives as accusatives show up on articles and other determiners (such as possessive adjectives) as well as on pronouns. However, Table 7.4, below, shows that there is an overwhelming preference for dative pronouns to be realized as accusative pronouns: in 58.3% of all pronoun contexts (28 of 76 pronouns) the dative is replaced with an accusative. In contrast, the dative is replaced with an accusative only in 21 of 327 contexts that indicate case on the determiner, that is, merely 6.4% of these contexts.[100]

[100] Finding an explanation for the preference of dative replacements in the pronoun contexts would be a separate project and exceeds the in the scope of this dissertation. However, a possible starting point for an investigation could be phonological similarity: the German masculine/neuter singular dative pronoun *ihm* and the masculine accusative pronoun *ihn* possibly become interchangeable forms to some speakers due to

	Was the dative regular?		
contexts:	yes	no	total
articles and other determiners:	327	21	348
personal pronouns:	48	28	76
total:	375	49	424

Table 7.4: Contexts in which the dative was replaced by an accusative form.

Consideration was also given to the grammatical contexts for non-standard gender assignment. The phenomenon is more complex than the other features, because in German gender variation can hide behind identical masculine and neuter articles or pronouns. Also, plural forms are the same across grammatical gender, which is why the plural article *die* for feminine/masculine/neuter had to be excluded from the analysis. The merged masculine and neuter dative form *dem* occurred in 104 instances. Although it is possible that speakers did not know whether a word is masculine or neuter in these instances, I decided to include the tokens, because speakers could alternatively have employed the dative feminine form *der*. In the present study, there was only one instance of non-standard gender on a pronoun, which followed the article *dem*, thereby revealing gender variation behind the ambiguous article. Together with the fact that there were 12 instances of masculinization of the neuter accusative (5.7% of all neuter realizations) suggests that gender variation between masculine and neuter is underrepresented in Table 7.5, below, meaning that the frequency of the feature is likely understated.

their perceivable similarity. For the purposes of my analysis, it suffices to say that all cases of substitution were masculine and that there still were clear phonetic distinctions between the two forms. The difference is not only audible but also visible, when speakers' lips remain open for the pronunciation of the alveolar nasal [n].

standard context:	Was gender regular?			Which gender was assigned?		
	no	yes	total	fem.	masc.	neut.
feminine	6	204	210	-	1	5
masculine	4	524	528	2	-	2
neuter	13	194	207	1	12	-
total	23	922	945			

Table 7.5: Contexts of gender variability.

Although gender variation is rare in the data and occurs in only 2.5% of all cases, Table 7.5 underlines that it can, in principle, happen in all constellations. The table contains the cases of masculinization of neuter nouns in the third row. The preference of assigning the masculine case to neuter words such as *Fenster* 'window', *Kind* 'child', *Auto* 'car' or *Haus* 'house' raises many questions which cannot be answered in this dissertation. However, it should be mentioned that most heritage language backgrounds of the participants in the retelling task lack a three-way gender distinction with a neuter category: Turkish, Thai, Indonesian and Chinese have no gender distinction, while a two-way distinction exists in Arabic, Kurdish, Italian and Brazilian Portuguese. Chapter 4 mentioned Pfaff's (1984) work on the potential influence of Turkish on German gender assignment. The present data supports this possibility, although the overall occurrence of the feature remains rare.

The distribution of the three most common features indicates that the overall occurrence of non-standard features in the data set is low: dative substitution, gender variation and article omissions occurred in only 11.6%, 2.5%, and 1.7% of the respective contexts. These numbers call for caution when building regression models to make predictions over feature occurrences. If the feature counts for a given number of feature

occurrences are too low, the results will be faulty. However, most software such as R will automatically send out a warning when a reliable relationship between predictors and a feature cannot be established. Nevertheless, even significant results should be treated with caution.[101]

7.2.3.3 Feature Relationships

After analyzing the most frequent features with regard to their relationships to certain social factors, I looked at the feature relationships within the data in a final step, and considered possible connections between the morphosyntactic level and the lexicon of my speakers. A correlation matrix with Pearson R values served this purpose. It contained each non-standard morphosyntactic feature and the sum of all morphosyntactic features along with two values from the free-sorting experiment that served as lexical indicators. These indicators were the count of perceived pseudoverbs as a measure of lexical scope, and a binary value expressing whether or not the ks-cluster surfaced in a speaker's data as a representation of new semantic associations in the data. Both were discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

To visualize the relationships in the correlation matrix, significant correlations (with a Pearson R value higher than 0.4) were set in boldface. After discussing the most evident

[101] As in the previous chapter, I used R for the purpose of analysis. I discussed possibilities of analysis and interpretation with Sally Amen from the UT Department of Statistics and Data Science. We both agreed that any results should be treated with caution, even if predictions are possible and even if there are significant effects. Although it could be that such significant effects are fairly strong, precisely because they turn up in spite of low variation in the data, a cautious interpretation overrides the notion of significant results.

correlations with regard to the overall sum of morphosyntactic features per speaker, the inter-feature correlations were submitted to hierarchical agglomerative clustering. The method was described in detail in Sub-subsection 6.3.4.1 of the previous chapter. I used two algorithms this time, in order to see whether the clustering results were sufficiently stable: the complete linkage algorithm used in Chapter 6 measures the distance between two clusters by using the members that are farthest apart in a cluster. In contrast, the single linkage algorithm uses the closest two members of a cluster to determine the distance. The single linkage algorithm therefore results in 'one large cluster with the other clusters containing only one or few objects each' (Mooi & Marko 2011:252). Given the low feature count in the video-retelling data, the approach from two sides helped get a clearer sense of the cluster membership of certain features with overall high or low correlation values. Again, the results should be seen preliminary due to the overall low variation in the data. Nevertheless, it is valid to use these statistical means to get a better feeling for possible feature relations. Future research can then clarify whether or not these relationships are indeed significantly stable. The next section presents the results of my analysis.

7.4 Results

7.4.1 DATA EXPLORATION

7.4.1.1 Features in the Data Set

Non-standard features occurred in the speech of all but seven students, meaning that 31 of 38 speakers used one or more of the twelve non-standard features summarized in Table 7.6, below. Overall, the feature count seems rather low, however.

Feature:	Occurrences:
dative replacement with an accusative (dat.subs)	51
variable gender (var.gender)	29
article omission (art.omission)	12
subject omission (subj.omission)	10
accusative replacement with a dative (acc.subs)	9
variation in verb inflection (var.verb.inflect)	8
word order (word.order)	4
variation in the use of prepositions (var.preposition)	3
omission of auxiliaries (aux.omission)	3
adding reflexives where not necessary (add.reflexive)	2
omission of prepositions (prep.omission)	2
object omission (obj.omission)	1
omission of *ob* 'if' in the double conjunction *als ob* 'as if' (als.ob.omission)	1
Sum:	135

Table 7.6: Overall non-standard feature count in the video-retelling data of 38 speakers.

As mentioned, the most frequent feature is the substitution of datives with accusatives. Among the 51 instances of this feature over half were replacements of the masculine dative pronoun *ihm* 'him.DAT' with the masculine accusative pronoun *ihn* 'him.ACC' as in example (7.1).

(7.1) ***die*** ***ihn*** ***hinterherrennen***
who him.ACC behind.DIR.run
die <u>ihm</u> hinterherrennen
'who run following him'. (NSE-VR-24, 3.21 min: female, German/Turkish)

In the initial data exploration, I counted 29 instances of gender variation, the second most frequent feature. An example is given in (7.2).

(7.2) ***also*** ***<u>der</u>*** ***fenster*** ***war*** ***offen***
so the window was open
also <u>das</u> Fenster war offen.
'So the window was open.' (NSE-VR-7, 4.21 min: female, German/Turkish)

Further, there were twelve instances of article omission, as in example (7.3), below.

(7.3) ***danach*** ***sprangen*** ***sie*** ***<u>über</u>*** ***mauer***
there.after jump.PST.3p they over wall
danach sprangen sie über <u>eine</u> Mauer
'After that they jumped over a wall'. (NSE-VR-22, 5.07 min: female, German/Turkish)

Subject omissions, as in (7.4), below, occurred in 10 instances in the data but were produced by only four speakers.

(7.4) ***sind alle über diese mauer gesprungen***
AUX all over this wall jumped
<u>die</u> sind alle über diese Mauer gesprungen
'(They) all jumped over this wall'. (NSE-VR-31, 4.01 min: male German/Tunisian Arabic)

Example (7.5) contains two non-standard features: accusative replacement with the dative case, and an additional reflexive with a motion verb, in this case of *springen* 'to jump'. Accusative substitution occurred in nine, and additional reflexives occurred in two cases.

(7.5) ***da sind sie auf <u>einer</u> bank geklettert und***
there are they on a.DAT bench climb.PTCP and
<u>sich</u> über die mauer gesprungen.
REFL over the wall jump.PTCP
Da sind sie auf <u>eine</u> Bank geklettert und über die Mauer gesprungen.
'There they climbed up a bench and jumped over a wall'. (NSE-VR-33, 3.58 min: female German/Tunisian Arabic)

A rather unexpected feature in the data was the eight instances of non-standard verb inflection. Recall that the feature was mentioned in only one of the studies on multiethnolects discussed in Chapter 3 (cf. Özçelik 2005). An example from my data is given below in (7.6): the speaker treats *laufen* 'to walk/run' as a regular verb with the past inflection *sie lauften* 'they walked/ran'. *Laufen*, however, is a verb with a strong inflection pattern: *sie liefen* 'they walked/ran' would be the standard form. Such variations also occurred with *abbrechen* 'to interrupt, to stop', *halten* 'to hold', *rufen* 'to call', *loslassen*

'to let go', *anfassen* 'to touch'. Most of these verbs require the speaker to have an irregular form of the verb lexicalized in the past or present. Some speakers in the present study apparently had no such forms in their lexicon.

(7.6) ***danach*** ***<u>lauften</u>*** ***sie*** ***weiter***
then run.3s 3p on
Dann <u>liefen</u> sie weiter.
'Then they ran on'. (NSE-VR-22, 5.28 min: female, German/Turkish)

Non-standard word order surfaced with four speakers. The elements that were not in the standard position were an attribute in one, and the verbal predicates in three cases. In example (7.7) below the participle is not in the last position of the main clause, as it would be in Standard German, for example. Other non-standard verb positions were a verb in first position after the coordinating conjunction *aber* 'but', and a verb in non-final position after the subordinating conjunction *dass* 'that'. Main clauses are V2 and subordinate clauses are V-final in Standard German.

(7.7) ***und*** ***da*** ***kam*** ***der*** ***junge*** ***und***
and there came the boy and
<u>hat</u> ***<u>angetippt</u>*** ***den*** ***jugendlichen.***
AUX tap the youth
und da kam der Junge und hat den Jugendlichen angetippt.
'and there the boy came and tapped the youth (on his shoulder)'. (WSE-VR-76, 6.18 min: female, German/Turkish)

The use of certain prepositions was also non-standard and subject to variation. German allows combinations of directional prepositions and verbs in many contexts. However, not all verbs in all contexts would need or accept an additional preposition, as the verb *sich wehren* 'to defend oneself' in example (7.8). The addition of *ab* 'off' turns the verb *wehren* into *abwehren* 'to fend off' which does not take a reflexive pronoun in Standard German, but rather requires mentioning the person or object that is being fended off. The second example (7.9) below exhibits a non-standard placement of the preposition *in* 'in, into'. The directional preposition *drauf* 'onto' which is combined with the verb *gehen* 'to go' indicates that *auf* 'onto' would be the best choice in Standard German. There also is a case of non-standard gender assignment in (7.9).

(7.8) ***der junge hat sich abgewehrt und ist abgehaun.***
the boy has himself off.defended and AUX run.away
der Junge hat sich gewehrt und ist abgehaun.
'the boy defended himself and ran away'. (NSE-VR-29, 3.37 min: male, German/Turkish)

(7.9) ***und die beiden jungs sind erstmal in ein bank draufgestiegen***
and the both boys AUX first in a bank onto.step
und die beiden Jungs sind erstmal auf eine Bank draufgestiegen.
'And the two boys first stepped onto a bench'. (WSE-VR-42, 4.15 min: female, German/Brazilian Portuguese/Italian)

Three speakers omitted three auxiliaries. German has two auxiliary verbs for the perfective past tense, *sein* 'to be' and *haben* 'to have'. *Sein* is mostly used for motion events

– sometimes even without an overt verb if the context allows for an omission of the participle in spoken German. In example (7.10), the motion verb is missing, for instance, because the directional preposition *aus* 'out' indicates that there is a motion event. Normally, it is not possible to omit the auxiliary *sein* in this sentence, because *sein* is the necessary minimal predicate.

An explanation for the omission could possibly be that the speaker is carrying over the subject *die* 'they' and the auxiliary *haben* 'have' from the first clause in a non-standard type of conjunction reduction. Since the auxiliary of German motion events is *sein* and not *haben*, such a conjunction reduction would fail in Standard German, however. Conjunction reduction perhaps is less restricted in the speech of my participants, or they use *haben* over *sein*. Another explanation could be that the 'multiethnolect' is more liberal with regard to omissions.

(7.10)

die	***haben***	***noch***	***schnell***	***was***	***gegessen***	***wie***	***das***	***aussieht***
they	AUX	PART	fast	something	eat.PTCP	how	that	looks
und	***dann***	***aus***	***der***	***tür.***				
and	then	out.	the	door				

die haben noch schnell was gegessen wie das aussieht und dann <u>sind sie</u> aus der Tür.
'It looks like they quickly ate something and then went/ran out the door'. (NSE-VR-31, 1.53 min: male German/Tunisian Arabic)

A stereotypical feature of the German multiethnolect, namely the omission of prepositions in locative contexts, also surfaced in the data. However, it was rare, with (7.11) and (7.12) being the only instances. Sentence (7.11) is particularly interesting, because the

omitted preposition is part of a locative within the idiom *in Ruhe lassen* 'to leave alone', literally: 'to leave in quiet'. This raises questions with regard to the levels of language that can be affected by omissions.

(7.11)

können	***Sie***	***ihn***	***bitte***	***ruhe***	***lassen***
can	2sHON	him.ACC	please	quiet	let

Können Sie ihn bitte <u>in</u> Ruhe lassen
'Could you please leave him alone?' (NSE-VR-29, 6.40 min: male, German/Turkish)

(7.12)

da	***sind***	***sie***	***einfach***	***rasen***	***gewesen***
There	AUX	they	just	lawn	be.PTCP

Da sind sie einfach <u>auf dem</u> Rasen gewesen.
'There they simply were on the lawn'. (WSE-VR-42, 4.26 min: female, German/Brazilian Portuguese/Italian)

There also was one object omission in the data, presented below in (7.13).[102]

(7.13)

der	***mit schwarz***	***der***	***verfolgt***
DET	with black	REL	hunt.down

Der mit schwarzer Jacke, der verfolgt <u>ihn</u>.
'*The guy with the black one is hunting him down*'. (NSE-VR-4, 3.55 min: male, German/Thai/Indonesian)

Another omission in the data concerns the double conjunction *als ob* 'as if'. During my time in Leipzig, I heard similar partial realizations of this conjunction pair as in (7.14). *Als* 'as' or *ob* 'whether' can be omitted while the full meaning of *als ob* 'as if' is retained.

[102] The abbreviation *mit schwarz* 'with black' for *mit schwarzer Jacke* 'with a black jacket' was not counted as non-standard, since identifications of agents with a color term are not uncommon among children on the school yard, for instance.

(7.14)

sie	***rennen***	***zum***	***frühstückstisch***	***und***	***tun so***
they	run	to	breakfast.table	and	pretend
als	***sie***	***gegessen***	***haben.***		
that	looks	eat.PTCP	AUX		

Sie rennen zum Frühstückstisch und tun so als sie gegessen haben.
'They run to the breakfast table and pretend as if they have eaten'. (WSE-VR-53, 2.00 min: female, German)

Table 7.6 and the examples show that while the overall count of morphosyntactic features in the data is rather low, some features occur more than others. In particular, the finding that case and gender variation are important is similar to findings in other multiethnolects of Europe. Stereotypical multiethnolect features such as omissions of articles, pronouns and prepositions, on the other hand, do not weigh as heavily. Overall, the six types of omissions in the data amount to 29 occurrences in the speech of 13 speakers out of 38. Omissions seem to go beyond the typical examples, because auxiliaries and conjunctions are affected at times. Non-standard verb inflection is hardly ever reported for multiethnolects in Germany, but the feature occurs on several occasions in the data of 5 speakers. While this is not often, it would suffice to mark the speakers' German as non-standard in a conversation, for instance. The next sub-subsection will discuss possible implicational scales between features in their relationship to speaker backgrounds.

7.4.1.2 Implicational Scales

In order to gauge the relationships between the features in the data, I ordered the data hierarchically. The results are depicted in Table 7.7, below. The columns contain the counts

of non-standard features, and the rows represent speakers with their ID. The final row shows the overall sum of occurrences of each feature (see also Table 7.6) and the final column contains the sum of features for each speaker. The shaded columns in the table point to the possible implicational relationships, meaning that if a feature occurs in the lighter shaded column, it is often preceded by certain features. The framed boxes highlight these relationships and their violations, e.g. by speakers #4 and #70.

It is also clear from speakers #29 to #60 that there is no strict hierarchy in the data. Instead of speaking of an implicational scale, the relationship between the three most frequent features is best described as an implicational tendency. Dative substitution, variation of gender assignment and article omissions stand in relationships that are ordered in a sense of implicational probabilities. For instance, whenever the first 10 speakers (#42 - #8) assign non-standard grammatical gender, they also replace datives with accusatives, so that these features co-occur for over 25% of all participants. The same speakers also exhibit a number of other features such as the omission of articles (#42 - #58), substitution of accusatives (#57 - #59) and non-standard verb stems (#22, #7, #57). Only the data of speakers #4 and #70 contains article omissions with dative substitution but without gender variation.

Speaker	Dat.as.acc	Var.gender	Art.omission	Subj.omission	Acc.as.dat	Var.verb.inflect	Word.order	Var.preposition	Aux.omission	Extra.reflexive	Prep.omission	Obj.omission	als.ob.omission	Sum:
42	3	4	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	11
22	2	2	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
76	1	6	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
58	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
7	5	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
2	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
57	4	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
33	3	1	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	9
59	2	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
8	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
36	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
24	3	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	9
39	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
4	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	5
70	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
34	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
27	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
10	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
40	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
31	1	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	5
35	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
29	0	3	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	8
13	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	3
25	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
55	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
68	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
51	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
60	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
9	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
53	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3
23	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
26	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
30	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
32	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
37	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
38	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
54	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sum:	51	29	12	10	9	8	4	3	3	2	2	1	1	135

Table 7.7: Feature matrix with implicational tendencies.

While there also is no dative substitution in the data of speaker #29, his data underlines the implicational tendency: non-standard gender co-occurs with an omitted article and with a range of other features such as an omitted preposition, variation in verb inflection, non-standard word order, and non-standard employment of prepositions.

When examining the overall sum of features per speaker in the last column it appears that there are correlative relationships between the sum of non-standard features and the frequency with which participants substitute datives or use non-standard gender. Figure 7.3, below, illustrates that in almost every instance of a dative substitution there are overall more non-standard features. Hence, the correlation with an r-squared value of $R^2 = 0.41$ is not merely due to a high number of dative substitutions in the data, but due to a tentative implicational relationship: dative substitution usually points to the occurrence of other features in the data. An even stronger relationship exists between the overall features and gender variation in the data with an r-squared value of $R^2 = 0.48$.

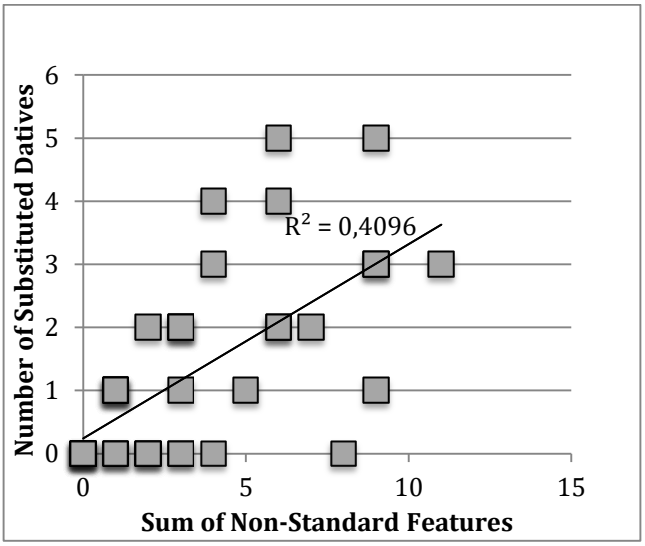


Figure 7.3: Scatter-plot of substituted datives vs. the sum of non-standard features.

With the help of Tables 7.8 and 7.9, below, I examined two social background factors in the data, namely the socioeconomic environment (district of origin) and speakers' migration background (determined by the birthplace of parents). All rows representing speakers from the socioeconomically lower Weststadt and speakers with a migration background are highlighted. (A column representing the pseudoverbs was added for the discussion in Subsection 6.4.3). Although the overall number of WSE students in the data is low, Table 7.8 points to a possible influence of the socioeconomic environment of speakers on the feature distribution. Six out of twelve of the WSE speakers contributed to the implicational tendencies in the data. Only one WSE speaker has no features in her data (8%) whereas the data of six speakers from the NSE is feature-free (23%). It also appears that certain features are associated with the Weststadt. For instance, note that article omission occurs almost exclusively in highlighted rows. It appears possible that certain features are favored in certain living environments. Results of the multivariate analysis of single features in Subsection 7.4.2 will shed more light on this possibility.

In Table 7.9, there is a visible relationship between the number of dative substitutions and the migration background of speakers: most speakers between #42 and #4 exhibit a high number of dative substitutions, exhibit more non-standard features, and are of migrant descent. In the lower half of Table 7.9 these relationships are less clear, because there is no immediately visible relationship between remaining implicational tendencies and migration background. Rather, it appears that the overall sum of features correlates with speakers' migrant background. The next sub-subsection presents a regression model that confirms this impression statistically.

Speaker	Dat.as.acc	Var.gender	Art.omission	Subj.omission	Acc.as.dat	Var.verb.inflect	Word.order	Var.preposition	Aux.omission	Extra.reflexive	Prep.omission	Obj.omission	als.ob.omission	Sum:	Pseudoverbs
42	3	4	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	11	20
22	2	2	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	19
76	1	6	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	21
58	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	11
7	5	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	31
2	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	7
57	4	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	20
33	3	1	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	9	25
59	2	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	19
8	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	20
36	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	7
24	3	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	9	12
39	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	4
4	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	5	19
70	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	24
34	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	10
27	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	7
1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	13
10	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	16
40	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	10
31	1	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	5	16
35	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	7
29	0	3	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	8	17
13	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	16
25	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	15
55	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	10
68	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	22
51	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	11
60	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	10
9	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	7
53	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	14
23	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	14
26	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
30	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13
32	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
37	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	23
38	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
54	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Sum:	51	29	12	10	9	8	4	3	3	2	2	1	1	135	

Table 7.8: Feature matrix with implicational tendencies, speakers from the WSE shaded.

Speaker	Dat.as.acc	Var.gender	Art.omission	Subj.omission	Acc.as.dat	Var.verb.inflect	Word.order	Var.preposition	Aux.omission	Extra.reflexive	Prep.omission	Obj.omission	als.ob.omission	Sum:	Pseudoverbs
42	3	4	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	11	20
22	2	2	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	19
76	1	6	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	21
58	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	11
7	5	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	31
2	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	7
57	4	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	20
33	3	1	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	9	25
59	2	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	19
8	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	20
36	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	7
24	3	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	9	12
39	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	4
4	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	5	19
70	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	24
34	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	10
27	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	7
1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	13
10	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	16
40	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	10
31	1	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	5	16
35	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	7
29	0	3	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	8	17
13	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	16
25	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	15
55	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	10
68	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	22
51	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	11
60	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	10
9	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	7
53	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	14
23	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	14
26	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
30	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13
32	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
37	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	23
38	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
54	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Sum:	51	29	12	10	9	8	4	3	3	2	2	1	1	135	

Table 7.9: Feature matrix with implicational tendencies, speakers with migration background shaded.

7.4.1.3 Best Regression Model for Sum of Features

Simple and multivariate linear regression models involving the predictors 'district', 'perceived primary language environment', 'subjective language dominance', 'parents born abroad', 'being a Turkish speaker', and 'gender' were used to investigate the relationship between the number of non-standard features and the student's migration background further. In a comparison of simple regression models (M28-M33), the birthplace of parents and the language environment emerged as the most powerful predictors of the number of non-standard features in a child's video re-telling. Both have adjusted R^2-values of around 0.3 (see Table 7.10). Model M31 ('Parents born abroad') is slightly better than M29 ('primary language environment'). Adding predictors to M31 did not improve the model. Adding the predictor 'parents born abroad' to M29, resulted in an improvement of M29. Table 7.11, below, therefore presents the summary of M31 as the best model.

Model No.	Single predictors	Adjusted R-Squared
M28	district	-0.014
M29	primary language environment	0.295
M30	subjective language dominance	0.192
M31	parents born abroad	0.312
M32	Turkish speaker	0.119
M33	gender	-0.024

Table 7.10: Model comparison of single predictors over sum of features.

The summary reveals that there is a significant difference between the number of non-standard features a speaker exhibits if the parents are born in Germany vs. if one parent is born abroad (p= 0.017*). The estimate of non-standard features in the data of speakers with German-born parents

is around 2, while speakers with one parent born abroad usually show around 3 features. The difference is even more significant for speakers with both parents born abroad (p=0.000***), who exhibit twice as many features as their peers with German-born parents.

Call: lm(formula = feature.sum ~ parents.born.abroad, data = features)

Coefficients:

	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)	1.7368	0.5947	2.921	0.006078 **
parents.born.abroad-one	3.2632	1.3029	2.505	0.017071 *
parents.born.abroad-both	3.7632	0.9130	4.122	0.000219 ***

Signif. codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1

Residual standard error: 2.592 on 35 degrees of freedom
Multiple R-squared: 0.3492, Adjusted R-squared: 0.312
F-statistic: 9.391 on 2 and 35 DF, p-value: 0.0005432

Table 7.11: Model summary of M31.

In summary, the explorations of the previous two sub-subsections showed two things: First, although there are no strict hierarchical relationships in the feature data, there are implicational tendencies related to the sum of features in speakers' data. Second, the sum of features is clearly related to speakers' migration background. It is not impossible, however, that there could be other relationships between factors like the language background or the district and particular language features. In the next subsection, an analysis of the three most frequent features indicates that the district affects specific features more than others, and that the linguistic environment also matters for specific features.

7.4.2 Logistic Mixed Models

The mixed model comparison focused on the replacement of datives with accusatives, variation in gender assignment and article omissions as dependent variables. The same six factors mentioned above served as independent variables (predictors). Surprisingly, several of the six predictors stood in significant relationships with two of the three most common features in the data, so that predictions were possible in spite of the limited occurrences. After comparing simple regression models, I added predictors in a step-up process to see whether any model was better. The best model was determined via an ANOVA for nested models, as in the last chapter.

Things were less clear for dative substitution. Here, only one factor appeared marginally significant. I report the model nevertheless because p-values are not seen as cut-off values in my analysis. As stated previously, all results should be seen as tentative, although there are statistically significant effects.

7.4.2.1 Dative Substitution

There was no model for this feature that was significantly better than the random effects model without any predictors. However, my participants' self-assessment of their dominant language accounted for the best model overall (M36, p=0.058) and had a slightly lower AIC value than the random effects model without predictors (293.53 vs. 295.23). When examining the internal workings of the factor, it became clear that speakers who consider themselves dominant in their parents' language exhibit more replacements of the dative with the accusative than those who think they know German and the heritage language equally well or those who say they are dominant in

German.[103] Again, the result is not statistically significant, but borders on significance. The summary of M36 is given, below, in Table 7.12.

Generalized linear mixed model fit by maximum likelihood (Laplace Approximation)
Family: binomial (logit)
Formula: reg.dat ~ (1 | number) + dominant.language
Data: datives

AIC	BIC	logLik	deviance	df.resid
293.5	309.7	-142.8	285.5	420

Random effects:

Groups Name	Variance	Std.Dev.
speaker (Intercept)	0.7627	0.8733

Number of observations: 424, groups: number, 38

Fixed effects:

	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	Pr(>|z|)
(Intercept)	2.4413	0.3211	7.602	2.92e-14 ***
dom.ue	0.8840	0.8204	1.078	0.2812
dom.up	-1.0661	0.5501	-1.938	0.0526 .

Signif. codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '‘. 0.1 ' ' 1

Table 7.12: Model summary of M36.

A straightforward interpretation of this result could be that speakers who are less confident in German are more insecure in their assignment of case in German. However, this alone does not explain why the feature also shows up frequently in the other groups.

I looked at the next best model in the data (M37), which included the predictor 'parents born abroad'. While not being significantly better than a model with no predictor (p=0.125), it also had a marginally better AIC value than the random effects model without a predictor (295.08 vs.

[103] For a summary of contexts in which the accusative replaced the dative, please refer to Sub-subsection 7.3.3.2.

295.23). This factor also revealed an interesting internal trend: Compared to speakers with both parents born in Germany, having one parent born abroad meant producing significantly more dative substitutions (p=0.046*). When both parents were born abroad this effect did not show.

While it becomes difficult to make sense of these numbers without taking a closer look at the communities, I will offer a preliminary possibility: it could be that those with migrant background who have stronger roots in Germany show the features for other reasons than those who feel they are not dominant in German. In one case, speakers could be unaware of the feature, with the feature being part of their German vernacular. In the other case there could be a certain awareness of one's 'mistakes:' since the speakers do not feel dominant in German, they may actually be insecure with regard to case assignment. These are options that deserve further exploration in future research.

7.4.2.2 Gender Variation

Three models containing single predictors yield significant effects for gender variation: M42 with 'primary language environment' (p=0.005**), M43 with 'subjective language dominance' (p=0.047*) and M44 with 'parents born abroad' (p=0.004**). All three predictors could play a role in explaining non-standard gender assignment. 'Speaking Turkish' also borders on significance (M45, p=0.051). Of the three significant models, M44 ('parents born abroad') represents the best fit. It has the lowest AIC value with 196.4. The difference with M42 ('primary language environment') is marginal, however (AIC=196.9). Both summaries are presented below in Tables 7.13 and 7.14.

Neither an addition of the two predictors nor an interaction can improve the models. It should be noted nevertheless that the predictors stand in an interesting relationship: when none of the parents are born abroad 94% of the environment is German-speaking, and only 16% indicate that two languages are being spoken equally often. A language other than German never dominates in the life of children with German-born parents. The picture changes if one or both parents are born abroad: when both parents were not born in Germany, the heritage language dominates the environment in 52% and German in 36% of all cases. German is equally important in 12% of the cases. If only one parent is born abroad this proportion rises to 56% and the heritage language dominates in only 44% of the cases. Although there were no issues with collinearity throughout the analysis, it is clear that the predictors are related to each other, albeit in a complex way.

Generalized linear mixed model fit by maximum likelihood (Laplace Approximation)
Family: binomial (logit), Formula: reg.gender ~ (1 | number) + parents.born.abroad,
Data: gender.variation

AIC	BIC	logLik	deviance	df.resid
196.4	215.8	-94.2	188.4	941

Random effects:

Groups	Name	Variance	Std.Dev.
speakers	(Intercept)	0.9577	0.9786

Number of obs: 945, groups: 38 (speakers)

Fixed effects:

	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	Pr(>|z|)
(Intercept)	6.519	1.088	5.991	2.09e-09 ***
parent.born.abroad-both	-3.044	1.116	-2.727	0.00638 **
parent.born.abroad-one	-2.897	1.239	-2.338	0.01939 *

Signif. codes: 0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘. 0.1 ‘ ’ 1

Table 7.13: Model summary of M44.

Generalized linear mixed model fit by maximum likelihood (Laplace Approximation)
Family: binomial (logit), Formula: reg.gender ~ (1 | number) + primary,language.environment,
Data: gender.variation

AIC	BIC	logLik	deviance	df.resid
196.9	216.3	-94.4	188.9	941

Random effects:

Groups Name	Variance	Std.Dev.
speakers (Intercept)	1.41	1.187

Number of obs: 945, groups: 38 (speakers)

Fixed effects:

	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	Pr(>|z|)
(Intercept)	5.4500	0.7606	7.165	7.75e-13 ***
prim.env-equal	-0.3585	1.3708	-0.262	0.79371
prim.env-parent	-2.4867	0.8450	-2.943	0.00325 **

Signif. codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '‘. 0.1 ' ' 1

Table 7.14: Model summary of M42.

The reference group in M44 are speakers with no parents born abroad. The summary tells us that speakers with one parent born abroad exhibit significantly more variation in gender assignment (p= 0.01939 *). When both parents were born abroad, the difference increases even more (p=0.00638**). Gender variation is more common for students with migration background in the current data set, as was already indicated by the implicational tendency tables, above.

With regard to the summary of M42 we learn that when German is thought to prevail in the language environment, or when the languages are perceived as equally strong, speakers are less likely to produce gender variation than when the perceived dominant language is the heritage language. This finding is in line with the possibility of language contact. As mentioned, none of the heritage languages in the sample has a three-way gender distinction. The significance of the

factor dominant language and the near significance of being a speaker of Turkish would also align with this interpretation. It could very well be that those with the strongest influence from their parents' language assign non-standard German gender.

7.4.2.3 Article omission

Table 7.9 showed that only two of the 11 speakers omitting articles are autochthonous German monolinguals. At the same time, the majority of multilingual students did not produce the feature. The results from regression analysis reflect this: There is no direct link to migration or language background for this feature. M55 involves the combined predictors 'district' and 'gender'. A summary is presented below, in Table 7.15.

Generalized linear mixed model fit by maximum likelihood (Laplace Approximation)
Family: binomial (logit), Formula: article ~ (1 | number) + district + gender, Data: articles

AIC	BIC	logLik	deviance	df.resid
108.0	125.8	-50.0	100.0	627

Random effects:

Groups	Name	Variance	Std.Dev.
speakers	(Intercept)	0	0

Number of obs: 631, groups: 38 (speakers)

Fixed effects:

	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	Pr(>|z|)
(Intercept)	5.1971	0.5984	8.685	<2e-16 ***
district-WS	-1.3511	0.6497	-2.079	0.0376 *
gender-male	-1.2793	0.6498	-1.969	0.0490 *

Signif. codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '‘. 0.1 ' ' 1

Table 7.15: Model summary of M55.

7.4.2.4 Interim Summary

The factor 'dominant language' was most predictive of the replacement of datives with accusatives, although it was not significantly better than having no predictor at all. Feeling dominant in the heritage language appears to be the driving force behind this model. It was also surprising to see that speakers with one parent born abroad make a difference in the factor 'parents born abroad' which is overall non-significant as a predictor, but is internally significantly differentiated. A possible interpretation would be that speakers with migration background who are rooted in Germany, employ this feature more often than others. It is overall difficult to verify these possible interpretations without more social context, however. Gender variation occurs most often with speakers whose parents are born abroad. Speakers with two parents born abroad lead in the production of this feature. When the perceived primary language environment is dominated by the heritage language, gender variation is also more likely to occur. An interaction between the predictors 'parents born abroad' and 'dominant language environment' does not improve the model. Due to the predictors involved, language contact appears to be a viable explanation for gender variation. With regard to article omission, 'district' and 'gender' are the best predictors. Speakers from the Weststadt and boys most frequently employ the feature. It is not predicted by migration background or bilingualism.

Table 7.16 summarizes the factor-feature relationships that emerge from the analysis. None of the predictors occurs more than once. This speaks to the importance of a fine-grained analysis: the significant role of speakers' migrant background that emerged in linear regression analysis over the overall sum of features in Sub-subsection 7.4.1.3, is not as clear for frequent features, when

analyzed separately. Rather, other viable explanations are revealed and verifying these relationships could be central in future research.

Predictors➔ / Features ⬇	district	primary language environment	subjective language dominance	parents born abroad	Turkish	gender
dative as accusative	-	-	x	-	-	-
gender variability	-	x	-	x	-	-
article omission	x	-	-	-	-	x

Table 7.16: Summary of most viable factor-feature relationships for three most frequent features.

Although these results should be treated with caution due to the overall low non-standard feature count, they can serve as a first step to improve our understanding of the nature of multiethnolects. The next subsection offers an investigation of the relationships between all features, morphosyntactic and lexical, that this dissertation touched on so far. This investigation will serve as the basis for a preliminary model of factor-feature relationships that I suggest in Section 7.5.

7.4.3 Feature Relationships

In the spirit of Thomason and Kaufman's (1988:57) description of contact situations 'as a forest rather than as a collection of isolated trees', the features discussed in this dissertation should be seen as interrelated, rather than separate occurrences. Table 7.7 in Sub-subsection 7.4.1.2 provides the basis for the correlation matrix in Table 7.17, below. This matrix relates the sum of morphosyntactic features per speaker to each feature type, expressing the degree of co-occurrence

in the data with Pearson R values. The shaded areas contain two lexical features from the previous chapter: 'pseudoverbs' represent the lexical scope of students and 'ks-cluster' stands for the association of the words *kommen* 'to come' and *schleichen* 'to sneak' by certain speakers. I limited the analysis to these lexical findings, because their discussion is sufficiently detailed in the previous chapter. [104]

Again, the correlations in Table 7.17 should be considered with caution, due to the overall low count of features. Nevertheless, the statistically significant correlations in boldface direct attention to structures that may hold beyond the present data.[105] The relationships suggest that we are dealing with a structured phenomenon, and not a conglomerate of randomly employed features. In particular, the overall sum of features per speaker stands in high correlations with dative substitution, gender variation, variable inflection of verb stems, omission of prepositions and the number of pseudoverbs (as a measure of lexical scope). Sub-subsection 7.4.1.2 discussed the implicational tendency between dative substitution and gender variation. Variable verb inflection is correlated with the sum of features because speakers #22 and #33 (cf. Table 7.7, above) use non-standard verb stems 3 and 2 times, and speakers #42 and #29 exhibit 11 and 8 features overall), among which there is an instance of omitted prepositions. The same speakers also have fairly high counts of verbs that they do not know, with 19, 21, 22, and 27 pseudoverbs.

[104] Chapter 6 discusses in detail how 'pseudoverbs' are the number of motion verbs students categorized as non-existent in the free-sorting experiment, and 'ks-cluster' stands for the similarity between *kommen* 'to come' and *schleichen* 'to sneak' that several students perceived. This association apparently stems from systematic omissions of directional particles that lead to a directional interpretation of the verb stem *schleichen* 'to sneak'.

[105] A table containing all correlations ordered by R-values is provided in Appendix F.

	dat subs	**var gen**	**art omit**	subj omit	acc subs	var verb infl	word order	var prep	aux omit	add reflex	prep omit	obj omit	als-ob omit	**sum**	pseudo verbs	ks-pattern
dat subs		0.23	-0.06	0.18	-0.10	0.21	-0.14	-0.07	0.13	0.02	0.02	0.07	-0.15	**0.64**	0.27	0.06
var gender	0.23		0.33	-0.12	-0.07	0.26	**0.46**	0.35	-0.17	0.04	**0.49**	-0.10	-0.10	**0.70**	**0.51**	0.29
art omit	-0.06	0.33		-0.14	0.01	0.03	0.10	0.31	0.01	-0.11	**0.43**	0.17	-0.08	0.36	0.16	0.08
subj omit	0.18	-0.12	-0.14		-0.07	-0.10	-0.10	-0.08	**0.75**	-0.07	-0.07	-0.05	-0.05	0.31	-0.03	-0.10
acc subs	-0.10	-0.07	0.01	-0.07		0.09	-0.15	-0.13	-0.13	0.12	-0.10	-0.07	**0.54**	0.08	0.05	0.07
var verb infl	0.21	0.26	0.03	-0.10	0.09		0.02	0.06	-0.10	**0.50**	0.11	-0.06	-0.06	**0.44**	**0.46**	0.28
word order	-0.14	**0.46**	0.10	-0.10	-0.15	0.02		0.22	-0.10	0.30	0.30	-0.06	-0.06	0.24	0.07	0.18
var prep	-0.07	0.35	0.31	-0.08	-0.13	0.06	0.22		-0.09	-0.07	**0.81**	-0.05	-0.05	0.30	0.14	-0.17
aux omit	0.13	-0.17	0.01	**0.75**	-0.13	-0.10	-0.10	-0.09		-0.07	-0.07	**0.56**	-0.05	0.26	0.08	-0.17
add reflex	0.02	0.04	-0.11	-0.07	0.12	**0.50**	0.30	-0.07	-0.07		-0.06	-0.04	-0.04	0.19	0.23	0.13
prep omit	0.02	**0.49**	**0.43**	-0.07	-0.10	0.11	0.30	**0.81**	-0.07	-0.06		-0.04	-0.04	**0.45**	0.13	-0.14
obj omit	0.07	-0.10	0.17	-0.05	-0.07	-0.06	-0.06	-0.05	**0.56**	-0.04	-0.04		-0.03	0.08	0.13	-0.10
als-ob omit	-0.15	-0.10	-0.08	-0.05	**0.54**	-0.06	-0.06	-0.05	-0.05	-0.04	-0.04	-0.03		-0.03	0.02	-0.10
sum	**0.64**	**0.70**	0.36	0.31	0.08	**0.44**	0.24	0.30	0.26	0.19	**0.45**	0.08	-0.03		**0.53**	0.18
pseudoverbs	0.27	**0.51**	0.16	-0.03	0.05	**0.46**	0.07	0.14	0.08	0.23	0.16	0.13	0.02	**0.53**		0.23
ks-cluster	0.06	0.29	0.08	-0.10	0.07	0.28	0.18	-0.17	-0.17	0.13	-0.14	-0.10	-0.10	0.18	0.23	

Table 7.17: Correlations between feature occurrences across speakers; shaded area represents lexical features.

The correlation between the sum of morphosyntactic features and the pseudoverbs contains a crucial message about the language of the speakers: the non-standard features in their German, and the strong indication that their lexicon is not that of Standard German speakers are two sides of the same coin. In spite of the different settings in which the data were elicited, the relationship is statistically significant. The relationship between the two language levels also places a question mark on the claims about so-called multiethnolects as a mere matter of style: evidently there are interrelated phenomena taking place at several levels of language that go as deep as the lexicon.

Figures 7.4a and 7.4b and below present two dendrograms based on the correlation matrix in Table 7.12. The overall sum of features was excluded from the calculations because it would have a skewing effect on the representation. Figure 7.4a was calculated using the single linkage and Figure 7.4b using the complete linkage algorithm. The results show which features co-occur as clusters across dendrograms. Four clusters stand out:

- Group 1: dative substitution, pseudoverbs, variable verb stems, the ks-cluster and additional reflexives.
- Group 2: article omission and word order, and – with some distance – the omission of prepositions and variation of the usage of prepositions.
- Group 3: omissions of auxiliaries, subject and object pronouns
- Group 4: accusative substitutions and the shortened preposition *als ob* 'as if'

The order of these four groups varies slightly depending on the algorithm, as does the location of the feature gender variation. In Figure 7.4a, Group 4 is the obvious outlier,

followed by Group 3. Gender variation appears as a single leaf apart from groups 3, 2 and 1, very likely because it correlates with members of each group (as Table 7.17 showed). The tree resulting from the more inclusive complete linkage algorithm, depicted in in Figure 7.4b, shows Group 3 as the first outlier. Group 4 gravitates towards Group 1, and gender variation is attracted to the pair of article omission and word order.

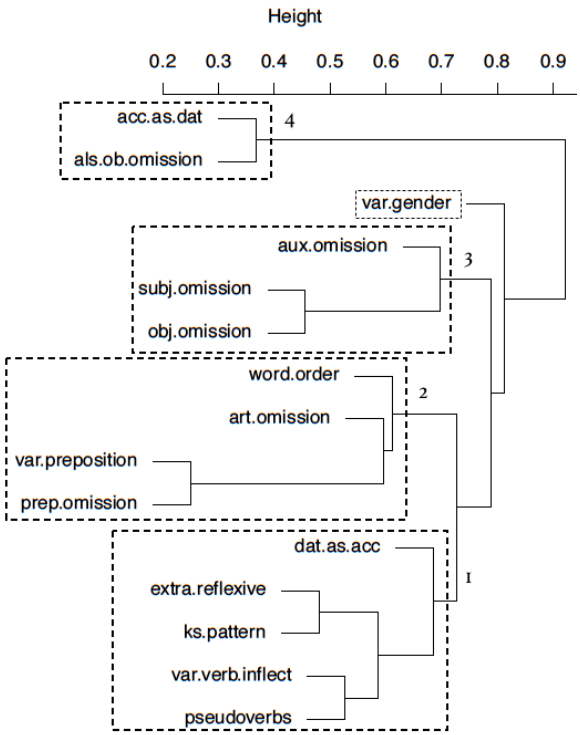


Figure 7.4a: HAC dendrogram of feature correlations (single linkage).

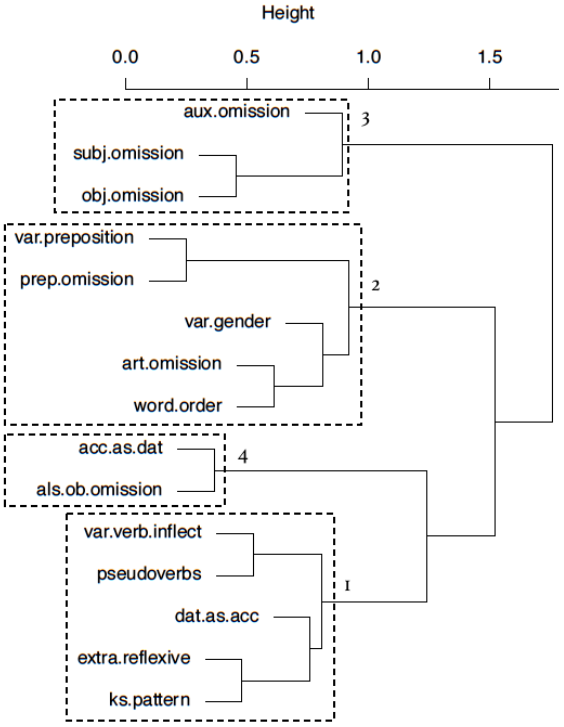


Figure 7.4b: HAC dendrogram of feature correlations (complete linkage).

More important than the differences between the dendrograms are the commonalities: the most interesting finding is that frequent features, that is, dative substitution, gender variation, and article omission occur either close to each other or close to the two lexical

features. This confirms the implicational tendencies discussed in Sub-subsection 7.4.1.2, but also is due to the relation between the morphosyntactic and semantic level that Table 7.17 pointed to. It is remarkable that Group 1 contains both semantic features, and the most frequent morphosyntactic feature, but no omissions. Three of the five features in Group 1 also exhibit significant correlations with the sum of morphosyntactic features in Table 7.17. Note how four of the features in this group are also directly or indirectly concerned with the verb lexicon: the variation of verb stems, pseudoverbs, the ks-cluster and the additional reflexives all point to differences in the way verbs are understood, used or inflected. The addition of reflexives was discussed in the previous chapter: it also occurred in relation to the use of *schleichen* 'to sneak' with a directional meaning: adding reflexives appeared to emphasize a certain intentionality behind motion events. In Group 1 the features occur next to each other. Whether this cluster is accidental or meaningful is hard to tell given the limited occurrences of additional reflexives in the data. Future research should look into the use of reflexives in potential German multiethnolects in particular.

Group 2 contains the third most frequent feature, namely article omission. The feature is highly stereotypical: discussions of the multiethnolect seldom do without it, as Chapter 3 showed. Likewise, word order deviations from standard German and the omission of prepositions are counted among the more marked and stereotypical features. As mentioned in Sub-subsection 7.4.1.2, article deletion stands in an almost implicational relationship with gender variation. Since gender assignment can best be avoided by omitting the complete article, this might seem unsurprising. However, the logistic mixed model analysis

showed that very different background factors account for article omission. The relationship appears to be complex, which is why the two features share a cluster in Figure 7.4b, but not in Figure 7.4a. The strong relationship of gender variation to the pseudoverb count (see Table 7.17) may also leave gender variation in an ambiguous position. Omitted prepositions and varying use of prepositions form a clear cluster that is evident in both dendrograms. Again the possibility presents itself that the omission is actually the result of an avoidance strategy: omissions of prepositions eliminate the necessity of having to decide on a preposition for a given context.

Subject, object and auxiliary omissions form the closely clustered features of Group 3. The most frequent of the three types of omissions is subject omission. Only four speakers exhibit this feature, two of them often (3 and 5 times). There is no direct co-occurrence of subject and object omissions. The two omission types cluster together, however, because both correlate with the omission of auxiliaries.

Group 4 is special because it behaves very differently from all other groups. It is also special with regard to its distribution in Table 7.9, in Sub-subsection 7.4.1.2: four of the nine instances of this feature are produced by monolingual speakers that do not use any other feature in the data besides the omission of a part of *als ob* 'as if'. The correlation matrix confirms that the only correlation for accusative substitution and *als-ob*-omission is with each other. The other correlations are extremely low, so that the pair appears unrelated to the other features in the data.

This section concludes the presentation of results. Overall, we have seen that there is structure and order in the occurrence of morphosyntactic features in the data, and that the structure reaches across language levels, because it relates to the results on lexical scope which I attained in the last chapter. However, the low morphosyntactic feature count calls for caution: Rather than interpreting the presented results as solid evidence for the structure of multiethnolect, they should be understood as an incentive for future research that confirms or disconfirms the patterns. The bottom-line of this chapter is that current representations and interpretations of multiethnolect data sets can very likely be improved. The next section will discuss how the insights from this chapter could translate into a better model of multiethnolects that includes social factors and the linguistic data.

7.5 Discussion

Figure 7.5 below combines the findings of the two past chapters into a hypothetical model. The goal of this model is to provide a preliminary basis for future representations of the internal structure of so-called multiethnolects and their relatedness to factors in speakers environment. The model is in no way intended to be read as a statistically based 'result'. It is a suggestion, based on the findings of this dissertation so far. The features I dealt with in Chapters 6 and 7 form the middle of the model and are organized in stacked cylinders in a lighter shade of gray. This is the 'linguistic something' (Quist 2008) we have been dealing with. The six predictors that were tested as predictors throughout this dissertation are

arranged in a darker shaded frame around the features. This is a schematic representation of the social context in which the features are embedded.

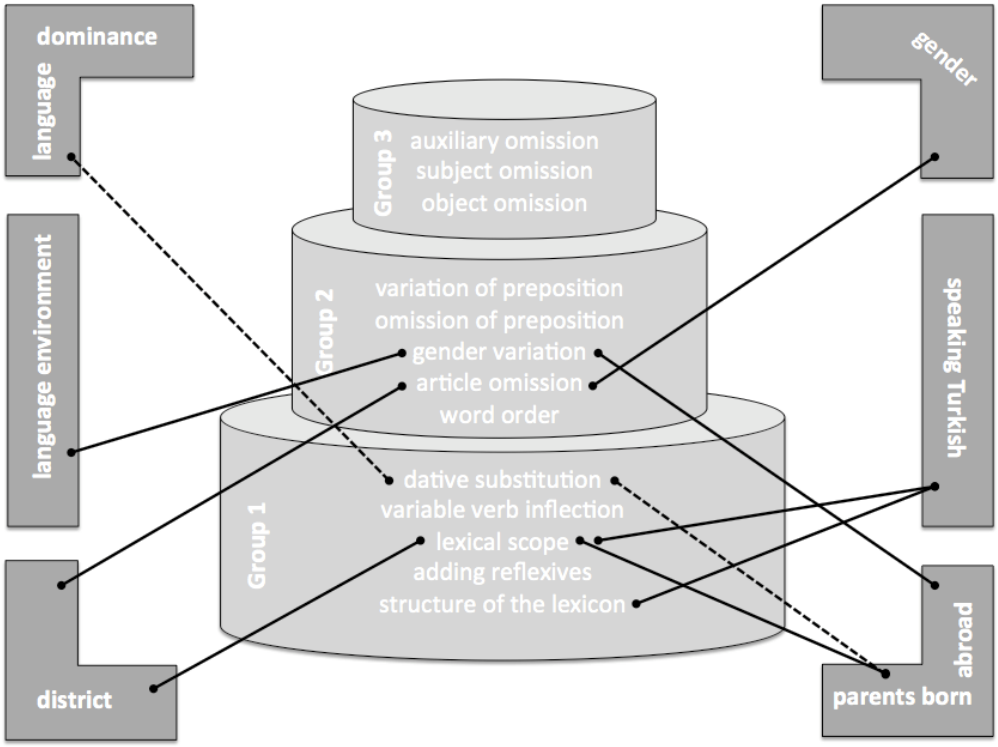


Figure 7.5: A representation of multiethnolect structures and their possible roots in speakers' environment.

Recall that the predictors as 'social factors' are based on the literature review: A diverse language environment, living in a socioeconomically low district, the migrant background of parents and belonging to a certain ethnolinguistic group – all these factors are said to influence the nature of multiethnolects which is why I chose to test them. I arranged the factors in a way that underlines their respective explanatory importance. 'Subjective language dominance', for instance, never became statistically significant, and 'gender'

only did so once. Having parents who were born abroad, being a Turkish speaker or being from a certain district were more powerful predictors.

In the suggested model, there are solid lines connecting the social factors and linguistic features. These represent the statistically significant relationships that emerged from the various analyses conducted. The dashed lines represent possible explanatory factors for dative substitution. There was no significant relationship here. The length of the connectors between factors and features should not be understood metaphorically.

Of the four feature clusters that emerged in cluster analysis in Subsection 7.4.3, only the most important feature clusters from Figures 7.4a and 7.4b were considered. Group 4 was not considered, because it neither stood in a correlational nor an implicational relationship with the other feature groups. The layered arrangement of the grey cylinders in the model alludes to the implicational tendencies that were detected in Sub-subsection 7.4.1.2: dative substitution and gender variation precede the other morphosyntactic features in most cases, for instance. The more frequent features precede Group 3, in particular, which is why the group is placed on top of the structure.

It is also important to emphasize that the model I suggest neglects the overwhelmingly near-standard features at the morphosyntactic level in favor of clarity. Were the model to include the near-standard realizations of features that were part of the variationist analysis, the features would appear as marginalities within a near-standard phenomenon. What would remain, however, is the connection between lexical findings and the non-standard features.

Chapter 8 discusses in more detail what morphosyntactic and phonetic features might indicate socially speaking, and how the extent to which a speaker employs 'multiethnolect' features can be explained or even predicted. The following observations simply read the model in Figure 7.5 as it stands for now.

Given the position and characteristics of Group 1, this feature group can be interpreted as the basis of multiethnolect ways of speaking in the districts in question. It is the deepest level of differences between speakers. While features in this category are more frequent than others, they are also relatively hard to locate in the speech of speakers. That very few studies of German multiethnolects mention features in Group 1 is a case in point. The correlative relationship between the morphosyntactic and lexical level substantiates Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) stance that contact situations usually affect all levels of language, not only selected parts of it. Some feature levels such as the lexicon are not self-evident, however, from an ethnographic analysis of speech, or a description that focuses on morphosyntax. Even dative substitution is a subtle phenomenon in many cases: when accusative *ihn* 'him.ACC' replaces the dative *ihm* 'him.DAT', the difference may often not be heard.

Group 1 is crucial because many features are related to verbs, and therefore affect the important function of predication. As Chapter 6 showed, verbs deliver crucial information about the direction, manner and intention of an action. Indirectly, the valence of the verb also can affect the case system, which might partially explain the loss of the dative case in the multiethnolect if verbs no longer require this case.

Above Group 1 lies Group 2 which contains omissions of articles and prepositions, as well as word order deviations from Standard German are in this group. Variable gender is included because it correlates significantly with article omission. It also relates to Group 1, however, showing that the borders between Groups 1 and 2 are fluid.

Group 3 lies at the surface level, linguistically speaking, when we describe the multiethnolect. Features in this group quickly catch the ear of anyone listening to multiethnolects. Several of the features are what Labov (1971) would call 'stereotypes'. Along with phonological features that were not discussed in this dissertation (such as coronalization and vowel quality) they have a high recognition value in public (Androustopoulos 2007). Years of media coverage and social metadiscussion contribute to the indexical weight these features carry today. They are also among the frequently employed features in acts of identity by non-migrant youth (cf. Dirim & Auer 2004, Keim 2007). In this light, one should treat the statistical relation between article omission, district and gender with caution: It appears that the feature is confined to very specific speakers. It occurs most common in a socioeconomically lower environment and is more often used by males. Children may hear the feature from older speakers (at home or on the street), or they may grow up with the feature. But it appears to be adopted later and employed by a broader speaker group due to reasons of covert prestige.

Group 3 at the top of the diagram exclusively contains omissions. These omissions never occur on their own in the data. There is a clear implicational tendency between them and the two most frequent features in the data, namely dative substitution and gender

variation. Compared to Group 1 and Group 2 they should be seen as the most marked feature type so far: skipping subjects, objects and auxiliaries where they are required is very uncommon. In Chapter 3 of this dissertation I presented Wiese's (2009) argument that the omission of articles and prepositions are common in German outside of the multiethnolect context. The omissions in Group 3 are much more confined, and consequentially also more marked. They are not stereotypes because they have a low recognition value. It is also notable that Group 3 contains none of the features that were tested for a correlation with social factors in this dissertation.

The features that were tested for correlations with social factors in this dissertation all occur in Groups 1 and 2, in the lower part of the diagram. The factor-feature relationships involve more than one factor in most cases, but two factors stand out as the most powerful predictors: the factor 'district' and the factor 'parents born abroad' are significant predictors across language levels, in two cases each. In addition, the birthplace of parents also is the single best predictor of the overall morphosyntactic feature count, that is, the combination of all non-standard morphosyntactic features per speaker (see Sub-subsection 7.4.1.3).

Other factors playing a role are indirectly related to migration, but they lead to more differentiated insights. Figure 7.5 suggests, for instance, that 'being a Turkish speaker' plays an important role for the semantic features. This could point to language contact at deeper levels of language. The 'primary language environment' is a good predictor for gender variation: If the heritage language is prevalent, the feature occurs significantly more

often than if German is the primary language. As mentioned, this feature could indeed be influenced by the amount of exposure speakers have to the parents' language, in particular if the heritage language has no grammatical gender.

As mentioned, the predictor 'subjective language dominance' was never statistically significant and a member of a best model at the same time. It was either not significant, but accounted for the best model, as for dative substitution, or it was significant but was trumped by other factors. Overall it seems that this factor is not crucial for understanding the origins of multiethnolects – at least with regard to the features displayed here. The gender of speakers only predicts a single feature, namely article omission, in combination with 'district'. Besides this, being male or female does not determine the participation in multiethnolect speech patterns of fourth graders in the neighborhoods in question.

In a reasonable generalization one could say that a mix of socioeconomic background factors and factors related to the speakers' migrant background provides the soil in which multiethnolects take root. This interpretation is no news (cf. Chapter 3). What is new, however, is the specific covert linguistic feature set in Group 1 that allows this conclusion in addition to the more stereotypical Group 2.

This leads to the question how this discussion contributes to our understanding of the assumptions of non-transmission, youth language and non-nativeness. The statistical results of previous chapters point to a strong role of parental origins. When this insight is combined with the results of Chapter 5 that suggest a frequent usage of German in migrant households in the two neighborhoods, the assumption of non-transmission is basically

undermined. The data suggests that origin is an important factor that operates partially independently of language use in the family.

Because all findings are based on data of children, the occurrence of features also disconfirms the view of multiethnolects as a pure youth language. Even if the features are limited, they are yet detectable in the speech of children. The next chapter will speak in more detail about the ways in which the multiethnolect eventually may end up becoming a youth language in the two neighborhoods in question. But in the elicitation of data there was no evident stylization at any point that warrants the view that the features were employed deliberately.

The results also work against the assumption of non-nativeness. Chapter 5 showed that my participants grow up as 'native speakers' of some sort of German. The current chapter shed more light on the question of which type of German they actually speak. It turns out that 31 of 38 speakers in the sample exhibit multiethnolect features at least sometimes and that 15 speakers in the sample exhibit more than three multiethnolectal features in their video description. Although the feature count is overall low, it is discernible and may increase in a setting different from a video-retelling task.

7.6 Summary

During a video-retelling task, children at two schools in immigrant neighborhoods of Braunschweig produced a limited, but discernible number of morphosyntactic features that

would be categorized as non-standard and are associated with the German multiethnolect. I attempted to investigate these features in their relationship to speaker backgrounds (represented by social factors), to each other, and to the lexical features from the previous chapter. The overall analysis suggests that having parents that were born abroad is crucial to understand the environment in which multiethnolect features occur. But it also became clear that individual features may be better explained by other factors: Article omission seems to be related to but not predicted by migration background, for instance. The Weststadt and male gender are the best predictor values for this feature.

Taking all this into account results in a complex outlook. By approaching the multiethnolect phenomenon as a coherent system rather than as a collection of isolated features, intricate relationships between language levels emerge. There also appear to be selected sites for language contact, for instance, at the lexical level where 'being a Turkish speaker' plays a role for students' verb associations (cf. Chapter 6). The lack of a gender system in many languages also seems to contribute to some variation of gender in the childrens' German.

By describing neighborhood dynamics within the districts and by including insights from long-standing observers in the neighborhoods, such as parents, older siblings, preschool teachers, schoolteachers, and social workers, the next chapter fleshes out the social environment of my participants and fine-tunes my approach where possible.

8. ETHNOGRAPHIC CONTEXTUALIZATION

8.1 Introduction

The results of the previous three chapters narrow the scope of unresolved issues to the point where a reformulation of the main questions guiding this dissertation is necessary:

i. Chapter 5 suggested that German is at least spoken as frequently as heritage languages in the multilingual families of Braunschweig. Chapters 6 and 7 added that when parents are born abroad certain lexical and morphosyntactic features in the data are more likely to occur. If this means that feature transmission from caregivers to children is happening, is it observable in the districts?

ii. There are 15 out of 38 children in Chapter 7 who exhibit four or more morphosyntactic features associated with 'multiethnolects' and second language acquisition. The dominant language at home could be influencing some speakers. But the factor 'parents born abroad' offers the better statistical explanation. Who exactly are the children exhibiting the most features? How can the concentrated feature occurrence be explained in a tangible way?

iii. The list of social and language-related factors that I introduced in Chapter 6 included predictors of multiethnolect features. Besides the parents' birthplace, the district, the language environment and being a Turkish speaker also fared well as explanatory factors for certain features. Behind these factors there are influences

that are rarely as categorical as the abstracted factors. So what do these influences look like in life? How can they be described?

In the quest for a better understanding of 'multiethnolect roots', this chapter is concerned with embedding statistical results into a perceived reality in the districts. The goal is to 'translate' the results that previous chapters yielded into a tangible description of my participants' environment. The approach is ethnographic in nature, providing insights into specific processes and contexts.

The significance of qualitative work has been made sufficiently clear in past decades. With her ethnographically inspired study of linguistic practices and social group affiliations in a Denver high school Eckert (2000) sparked a 'third wave' in the evolution of the discipline, bringing statistical methods and ethnography closer together.[106] Through participant observation, she was able to classify her participants by their degree of deliberate affiliation with popular adolescent groups. Similar to work in discourse and conversation analysis in the tradition of Gumperz & Hymes (1972), her strand of work conflates the two categories of social variables and linguistic features: rather than standing in correlations with social factors, language is a social tool to be reckoned with. In this view, a deeper understanding of the dynamics in which language co-produces social reality can only be attained through ethnography. At the center of observations stands the repertoire of speakers, that is, the linguistic toolbox of styles, voices, registers or lects at

[106] Eckert (2012) gives an overview of the 'waves' she identifies in variationist sociolinguistics.

the disposition of specific speakers. Describing these linguistic tools in their social application by speakers and networks of speakers (or, 'communities of practice') is the central concern of the qualitative brands of sociolinguistics.

Work on European multiethnolects stands in this tradition for over a decade now, in Germany in particular (cf. Dirim & Auer 2004, Eksner 2006, Keim 2007). Recently, the call for ethnographic work has even intensified in light of the increased complexity in many immigrant neighborhoods (cf. Bloemmart 2013). However, the trend is happening at the cost of endeavors that bring together statistical results and ethnographic observation. Auer (2013:11f) laments this issue for the German context. The present chapter underlines that one set of methods can complement and benefit another.

Are there observable processes of feature transmission in migrant families in the Weststadt and Nordstadt? Who are the children growing up speaking a type of German that later is labeled as 'multiethnolectal'? What is the social context in which a first-acquired non-standard way of speaking German emerges? While a full description of my participants' social life would not be reasonable within the scope of this dissertation, this chapter offers some answers. Section 8.2 below introduces my methods. Sections 8.3 and 8.4 contain a systematic presentation of observations and interview results. The consequences of ethnography for my statistical analysis, for the main questions of this dissertation and for education are discussed in a concluding Section 8.5.

8.2 Neighborhood Observations and Interviews in the Community

Recall the basic demographic and statistical information on the two districts (cf. Chapter 5). The Weststadt is positioned at the lower end of the socioeconomic scale in Braunschweig, and experienced a stronger influence from immigration, with at least 37% of the population having roots abroad. Both Turkish and Eastern European families have called this part of Braunschweig their home for decades now and recent immigration has further diversified the population. The Nordstadt is a bit better situated socioeconomically speaking, and there are less immigrant families overall, with only 21% being migrants or of migrant descent. Hardly any immigrants come from Eastern Europe, here, but many have Turkish or Tunisian roots. Like the Weststadt, this district has also seen substantial diversification in recent years, due to the pluralistic immigrant populations that reached Western Europe in the past two decades (cf. Blommaert 2010).

Change is a crucial characteristic of the social landscapes of the districts. Within a short time, some of the insights this dissertation can offer may actually be outdated due to numerous refugees arriving in Braunschweig these days. However, the change in immigrant neighborhoods is not erratic and random. Often the history of a place leads to fascinating insights on the reason for certain language features (cf. Blommaert 2013). However, observations have to be manageable and defined, so that speakers, circumstances and history can be related to each other. For this reason, I limited my observations and

interviews to two neighborhoods within the larger districts, where I illustrate tangible patterns and allow community voices to come to bear.

As mentioned, Chapter 7 showed that certain speakers exhibited more features than others in the video-retelling task. Also, 8 out of 15 students who placed the verb *kommen* 'to come' together in a cluster with *schleichen* 'to sneak' during the free-sorting task in Chapter 6, also participated in the video-retelling task. All but one of these 8 producers of the 'ks-cluster' exhibited at least one morphosyntactic feature associated with the German multiethnolect. The question arose whether certain concentrations of features in my data were mirrored by geographical concentrations of speakers. In other words, were there speaker networks in which certain features are more prevalent that in others? I decided to trace feature concentrations on maps with the help of participants' addresses.

Plotting the approximate residence of each producer of the ks-cluster over a three-dimensional map, resulted in Figures 8.1 and 8.2 below.[107]

[107] Exact residences cannot be revealed in this dissertation due to IRB specifications.

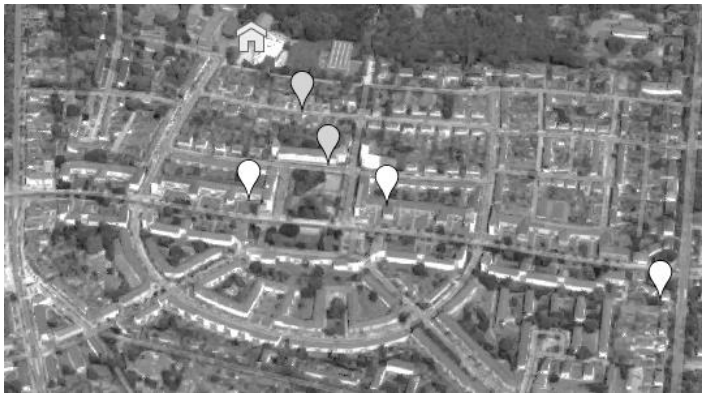


Figure 8.1: Speaker's producing ks-cluster in the Siegfriedviertel (NS).

Figure 8.2: Speaker's producing ks-cluster around Alsterplatz & Emsstrasse (WS).

The map selections show that producers of the ks-cluster accumulate in certain neighborhoods and live within reach of each other. White markers represent speakers with a Turkish background, and grey markers stand for speakers with other backgrounds. Figure 8.1 indicates four ks-cluster producers in the Nordstadt who are living around the *Burgundenplatz* (*Bugi*) in the middle of the *Siegfriedviertel*. Three are Turkish-German

bilinguals and two are German monolinguals. Figure 8.2 represents the Weststadt, where the ks-cluster was overall more frequent. Here, producers are located south and east of a secondary school in the area of the *Alsterplatz & Emsstraße*. On either side, there are three white markers representing six ks-cluster producers who speak Turkish. Other bilingual speakers (Polish, African and Arabic-speaking background) in the same area also placed the two verbs in a single sorting group.

The figures confirm what regression analysis suggested in Chapter 6: Turkish speakers dominate in producing the ks-cluster. The question that follows is whether there are social networks that match the geographic proximity on these maps. Both areas in Figures 8.1 and 8.2 are far more limited than the overall distribution of participants in the Nordstadt (cf. Chapter 5, Figure 5.5). For this reason, the Siegfriedviertel, and the Alsterplatz & Emsstraße area suggested themselves for the ensuing ethnographic examination.

School transition made it difficult to locate the same students of my initial study in 2012, in the respective neighborhoods a year later. Participants were now attending secondary schools throughout the larger districts. Some attended the secondary schools within walking distance of their old elementary schools. These schools are represented by a 'house' symbol in Figures 8.1 and 8.2. After getting permission by the school district to continue my study, I began contacting students in these schools. I looked in particular for students that had (i) produced the ks-cluster and/or (ii) produced a higher feature count in the video-retelling task. Word traveled quickly that I was doing a follow-up study, and not only students with the feature profile offered to help me.

In the Nordstadt, around 15 students had transitioned to a secondary school that was in walking distance of the Siedfriedviertel and the Nordstadt Elementary (NSE). Many were in the same class, interacting with friends in a remarkably similar way to the previous year. They had transitioned together from the NSE to the new school, as conversations with Ms. Kern and Ms. Jung, their former elementary school teachers, confirmed. Interestingly, I only recognized two girls with Turkish backgrounds in the new class. The six Turkish-speaking girls were attending secondary schools across the city now. However, as one of the girls told me, they still remained in close contact outside of school. I was able to obtain parents' permission to engage this group in my study after school at the Burgundenplatz (Bugi), the central playground of the Siegfriedviertel where they were still meeting and hanging out after school.

In the Weststadt just adjacent to the Weststadt Elementary (WSE), several more students were attending a new secondary school. A number of six participants responded to my search. All but two attended the same class and talked to each other. However, overall, friendships had changed substantially from the former WSE: I had to consider new friends the students made in secondary school without there being any previous data for these speakers.

The main method of gathering data on speaker networks in the neighborhoods was participant observation. I spent a combined 22 days in both districts in 2012, 2013 and 2014. In 2012, the first half of each morning was spent at the NSE and the second half at the WSE. During this time I was mostly engaged in quantitative data elicitation and testing

in classrooms. The afternoons served to pay visits to my participants' neighborhoods. In 2013, I concentrated more on ethnographic work. I visited the NSE and the secondary school in the Nordstadt for 1-2 hours in the afternoons and dedicated the main part of each morning and afternoon to observations in the neighborhoods and to interviews with neighborhood inhabitants. A bicycle served as my means of transportation and enabled me to quickly get from one point to another within and between the districts. On certain days I switched the order in which I went to each district, to get a feeling for the same locations at different times of the day. Afternoon visits in the Weststadt area of the Emsstraße & Alsterplatz became part of a daily jogging route that I interrupted deliberately in the neighborhood to work out while paying attention to my surroundings. A four-day visit in 2014 was reserved to neighborhood observations in both neighborhoods with only four scheduled interviews.

In addition to observation, I conducted a number of interviews with adults that lived or worked in the neighborhoods, and who interacted at some level with my participants. By nature of their relationship to the children two groups of interviewees can be distinguished: I spoke to 16 inhabitants of the neighborhoods that know the children as parents, older siblings, grandparents, and neighbors. In addition, 8 professionals provided their insights who have contact to the children on a daily basis in defined settings, such as preschool programs, elementary schools, and secondary schools, in church programs, during classes at the local mosque or during the opening hours of local youth clubs. The majority of this contact group of professionals lives outside the neighborhood.

For some individuals in the latter group, however, the insider role and the professional role merge. A teacher and an assistant for special needs students in the Nordstadt are neighbors of my participants, for instance. Six teachers and tutors that I spoke to in secondary and elementary schools have migration backgrounds from Turkey, Poland, Russia, Hungary and Serbia – a circumstance to which the interviewees often attributed their unique perspective within the school system, because of their experience, connectedness to families and the neighborhood, or their linguistic assets.

An overview of all interview sessions is listed in Tables 8.1 and 8.2, below. Some sessions included more than one interviewee. All but two names (my assistant and her husbands') are pseudonyms.

Interviews (Nordstadt):	Age:	Profession/Role:	Length of Interview:
Preschool 1: Ms. Müller	45-60	Preschool teacher	37:44 min
Preschool 1: Ms. Netter	45-60	Preschool teacher; linguistic advisor	21:16 min
NSE: Ms. Avcı & Ms. Başak (two teachers)	25, 35	Elementary school teachers (G2, Turkish background)	40:11 min
NSE: Ms. Drobny & Ms. Yenin (two tutors)	38, 52	Responsible for after-school program at the NSE (G1, Polish and Russian background)	46:43 min
NSE: Ms. Çelik (special needs assistant)	26	Aunt to one of my participants, grew up in the Siegfriedviertel (G2, Turkish background)	17:03 min
Community Center (close to NSE): Claus (social worker) & Kemal (male visitor)	50, 18	German social worker; worked close to the NSE for 14 years; older brother (G2, Turkish background)	32:34 min
Girls club (close to NSE): Layla (female visitor)	20	Older sister from the Siegfriedviertel (G2, Kurdish background)	18:49 min
My assistant Duygu and her husband Özay	30,32	Couple grew up in the Siegfriedviertel, lives near Weststadt now with children.	40:29 min
Özay's family (my assistant's in-laws)	66, 59, 34	Parents (G1), his brother (adult, G2, Turkish citizen)	01:36:07 min

Table 8.1: Adult interview partners with relation to speakers in the Nordstadt.

Interviews (Weststadt):	Age:	Profession/Role:	Length of Interview:
Preschool 2: Ms. Oswald	30-40	Preschool teacher	written, 3 pages
Preschool 2: Ms. Popp	40-50	Preschool teacher (in neighborhood for 24 years)	22:12 min
Preschool 2: Ms. Rieger	40-50	Preschool teacher; Linguistic advisor	48:16 min
Secondary School (IGS): Ms. Setzer	32	German teacher (G1, Serbian background)	26:58 min
Secondary School (IGS): Mr. Lehmann	50-60	German teacher (resettler background G1.5, in neighborhood for 32 years)	37:26 min
Youth club: Torsten (social worker)	55	Works with children and youth to age 27; connected to district for over 49 years	30:35 min
Friend of my assistant, mother: Enisa (interviewed with my assistant in 2014)	30	Bosnian background (G1). Lived in the Nordstadt, lives in the Weststadt now.	56:01 min
Polish Catholic Community: Ms. Ślązak	~45	Secretary of Polish church (G1, Polish background)	08.55 min
Polish Catholic Community: Father Żuraw (interviewed in the presence of secretary)	~40	Priest of Polish church (G1, Polish background, recently arrived)	10:29 min

Table 8.2: Adult interview partners with relation to speakers in the Weststadt.

The interview questions are included in Appendix B. All but the interview with my assistant's in-laws, her friend Enisa and the two interviews at the Polish Catholic church were transcribed, and color-coded. Color-codes connected certain statements in the interviews with the three main questions, namely, (i) whether feature transmission is observable or observed in the community from migrant parents to children, (ii) which children exhibit and which children do not exhibit multiethnolect features, and (iii) what

else the interviews tell us about the possible roots of multiethnolects. Take, for example, the following excerpt of the interview with Layla, a female visitor of a youth club in the Nordstadt, who speaks German, Kurdish and Turkish:

> David: Your younger siblings, where do you find or where do you think they learned their German? There are different possibilities, of course. Where do they pick up their German as they grow up? What do you think, what is your impression?
>
> Layla: Well, before preschool, even though my mother does not speak very good German, from my mother, of course. Small things, 'table', 'window', 'bike', such things. At first. And then preschool, more intensive so to say. Preschool is really, I think, it benefits a lot. So more from preschool.[108]
>
> (Interview NSE-I5-130612_006_femaleNordstadt, p. 7)

From a qualitative standpoint there is intrinsic information value in the marked sections of the quote. It can be extracted and connected to other passages in the same or in other interviews, eventually leading to a quilt of impressions that allow the researcher to draw his or her own informed conclusions about the local situation. The given excerpt does not inform my question (ii), that is, there is no direct information given that allows conclusions about communicative networks of speakers. The passages relate to question (i), however. The visitor of the youth club evaluates the German of her mother negatively ('not very good'), which very likely means that it is non-standard. Discourses of standard vs. nonstandard ways of speaking in modern nation states would strongly suggest such a

[108] David: Deine kleinen Geschwister, wo findest du oder wo denkst du ham die ihr Deutsch gelernt? Da gibt's ja verschiedene Möglichkeiten. Wo schnappen die ihr Deutsch auf wenn die aufwachsen? Was denkst du, was is' so dein Eindruck?
Layla: Also vorm Kindergarten, obwohl meine Mutter nich' sehr gut Deutsch kann, von meiner Mutter natürlich. So Kleinigkeiten, ‚Tisch', ‚Fenster', ‚Fahrrad', halt so was. An erster Stelle. Und dann: Kindergarten, also intensiver. Also Kindergarten is' wirklich wo ich denke, nützt auf jeden Fall. Also eher mehr vom Kindergarten.

conclusion (cf. Ammon 1972, Lippi-Green 1997). This assessment would be supported by the environment of the specific youth club: near-standard German was the shared mode of communication, and autochthonous German social workers often set the tone of interaction in German. I did not witness the use of multiethnolectal features in the conversation between my interviewee and the social workers. The formality of the interview itself is another reason to believe that Standard German is the point of reference. 'Not very good' very likely means 'non-standard'. At the same time, without knowing what the 'not so good' German of the mother looks like, it is impossible to say what children's first input is in terms of features. The interviewee believes that her siblings learned German first and foremost through the mother, though. Feature transmission from parents hence at least presents itself as a possibility here.

On the other hand, preschool is seen as a positive influence ('benefits a lot') and as a more crucial source of acquiring German ('probably more'). This could provide insights with regard to question (iii). If her siblings produced non-standard features the reason could lie not only in the early exposure to non-standard ways of speaking German (the 'not-so-good' German of the mom), but also in a later expansion of functional linguistic abilities in German in the acquisition process. Exposure to preschool teachers and German-speaking children from monolingual families may boost children's use of the language to an extent that is recognizable at home.

Considerations of a similar nature underlie the analysis of approximately 4.5 hours of interview time in the Nordstadt, and approximately 3 hours of interview time in the

Weststadt. The deliberate choice of interview partners that are involved with my participants at different levels of familiarity and professionalism was important in that it provided insights from different angles, but also points in time in the life of my participants.[109]

What the excerpt above also shows is that I avoided the use of linguistic jargon and gave interviewees room to elaborate in their own words on how they experienced the linguistic and social environment of children. I later tried to arrive at a linguistic interpretation of their description on my own. By systematically working through the majority of interviews in the way described, the analysis gradually arrived at the picture presented in this chapter. While not all insights and excerpts from the interviewees can be included, all interviews form the basis of my understanding of the processes and contexts in the two neighborhoods that I am about to describe and discuss in the following two sections. A summary of my overall interpretation is reserved for the end of the chapter.

8.3 Siegfriedviertel

8.3.1 Entering the Community

As if to allegorize the contrasts in Braunschweig's Siegfriedviertel, all streets take their names from Germanic mythology, the blueprint for Wagner's famous *Niebelungen* saga:

[109] A preschool teacher has something else to say about language development and interactions of children than a school teacher, for instance.

Öznur lives in the *Wodanstraße*, Açelya in the *Freyastraße*, and Yáng in the *Walkürenring*.[110] A small but serene statue of *Siegfried*, the *Nibelungen* hero, watches over the *Burgundenplatz (Bugi)* where I took a seat almost every afternoon during my observations. The location is central to the social life of children and parents of the neighborhood: it offers a playground, a swing set, a seesaw, a jungle gym, an encaged padded soccer field, several picnic tables and a shaded lawn area with several trees. A plethora of interaction can be witnessed here – in particular, during sunny days. A specific scene reconstructed from my field notes illustrates this:

> A boy, around 4-years of age, on a scooter has reached the playground where he briefly escapes the control of an older woman wearing a cardigan and a headscarf. He is getting excited because he sees a group of seven boys between seven and 11 years of age, running through the jungle gym to my right. The boys are playing in a mixed group: some are ethnically German, some seem to have roots elsewhere – they may be Turkish. They are jovially chasing each other up the tower and across the scaffolding. There is a lot of motion going on, not only to capture the attention of a little boy. The apparent grandmother calls out a serious sounding order in Turkish as he is about to get lost in the whirl of action. She goes on admonishing him. While I cannot make out a word of German between the woman and the boy, the boys in the jungle gym squeal and call for each other in German. I cannot hear a word in another language but German between them. (based on FN-06-12-2013, p.7)

Two things happened at the Bugi that same afternoon. First, I recognized a boy of German descent among the group of tag-playing boys whom I had interviewed the previous year. He evidently had not switched to the secondary school in the neighborhood because I had not seen him there the same morning. I remembered him, however, being friends with Michael (speaker #26), one of the male students I met at school the same day. The fact that this boy was playing in an ethnically mixed group was intriguing, because, like Michael,

[110] All names, except for the family of my assistant who signed a special consent form, are pseudonyms in this chapter. Exact locations where people live are not disclosed, but approximate locations are chosen to relay a realistic description of the local situation.

he was among the students who sorted the verb *kommen* 'to come' and *schleichen* 'to sneak' in one category during the free-sorting test conducted the previous year. The boys in this group were familiar with each other and the fact that both speakers lived only a stone's throw away from the playground made it plausible that they interacted with others frequently here. I hesitated to talk to the boys, however, because I felt that disrupting play or approaching children could be culturally insensitive for an adult male unknown to the neighborhood.

As if to prove my caution unwarranted, a pair of girls approached me: Öznur (speaker #7) whom I met this morning at the new secondary school came to my bench with an older girl, around thirteen years of age. Both were wearing colored, tight-fitting headscarves folded and tucked in below their chins.[111] Öznur had told me that her parents did not want her to participate in my study in school. Wondering about the reason for her parents' concern with the study, I felt uncomfortable with her sudden approach. Thankfully, her parents later consented to her participation, so that the conversation between us can be replicated:

> Öznur introduces the older girl as her sister Esra. The central topic of our conversation is school. Öznur misses her days in elementary school. Repeatedly, she mentions the elementary school teacher Ms. Kern who I am currently staying with. 'So you are staying with her?' – 'Yes, I'm her guest'. I recognize the importance this has for Öznur. I come to understand that the new teachers

[111] It is worth noting that headscarves in many immigrant neighborhoods of Europe come in a multitude of shapes, colors and styles. For the bearer, they do not always have a political or even religious connotation, as media discourses often suggest. They can be informative, however, with regard to the cultural background and/or the congregation a family attends. Within a single country like Turkey there are many different ways of wearing the headscarf influenced by regional preferences, the distinction 'rural' vs. 'urban', or membership in certain religious organizations. The more conservative way of wearing the headscarf for my informants did indeed coincide with a later encounter of the same families at a more conservative Turkish congregation not too far from the Nordstadt.

> are not as well known to her parents as Ms. Greger. Esra, the older sister, assumes an authoritative role now, and asks questions about my research and me. She seems very interested. The two girls explain that the main issue with the situation is that their parents do not know me. (based on FN-06-12-2013, p.7)

Following the conversation, I offered to talk to Esra and Öznur's parents, and we arranged for a meeting at the Bugi the next day. I also scheduled a meeting with Açelya (speaker #25), another Turkish girl, whose mom also needed to know more about the study. The main insight of this situation was that trust in me was a reflection of trust placed in teachers. A year earlier at the NSE, it was no problem to get Öznur's or Açelya's parents to agree with their daughter's participation in the study. This year, I was not benefitting from a teacher's brokerage. Öznur's parents were careful: they trusted Ms. Kern last year, which in turn made me trustworthy. This year they would not consent to a study conducted at the new school, because teachers were no longer familiar.

But why did most students in Öznur's new class, like Michael (speaker #26), have the approval of their parents? Inadvertently, I had ventured onto the crossroads of differing attitudes towards teachers and institutions. What was it about the elementary and secondary schools that made the main difference? In the next subsection, I will take a closer look at institutions and localities in the neighborhood, along with the social patterns and speech practices exhibited there.

8.3.2 Crucial Institutions and Localities

8.3.2.1 The New Secondary School

A few days before observing the Bugi, I introduced myself at the nearby secondary school that several former NSE students attended. The teacher of the class became sick but a substitute teacher was willing to let me work with students for a two-hour period every day. The idea arose to have a *Jenga* competition[112] so that all students, not only those included in my study, would benefit from my visit: Students would get together in voluntary groups, and each group was to build a tower in two attempts over the course of a week, with the group that produced the highest tower winning some candy. I would only film those students whose parents consented to the study. As students hustled together in groups of three to four students, it became clear that most former NSE students chose class mates they already knew. Two girls, Sara and Cianna, took the lead in forming female and partially mixed groups of former NSE students. Michael was part of a group of boys from the NSE. However, Öznur was an exception: she formed a group with two girls of Turkish descent who had not attended the NSE.

A day later, the *Jenga* competition fizzled out due to students' makeshift curriculum. And yet, the short class during which students proactively chose their friends uncovered

[112] Jenga is a game in which a group of people increase the height of a tower by pulling rectangular wooden blocks out of its lower parts and adding them to the top. Thereby the tower is destined to crash at any given moment of the game leading to continuous excitement throughout the task of building the heighest tower possible.

that Sara and Cianna, two charismatic girls from the former NSE, were at the core of a larger group of girls from the former NSE that were still friends and included Tanja, Caren, and Yáng. They all hung out with each other in and after school. Sara had family in Poland and Cianna 'in Africa'. These migrant backgrounds went more than a generation back, however. Only Yáng was of direct migrant descent. Although the composition of the clique appeared multicultural on the surface, linguistically speaking it was homogenous: All but one speaker had parents born in Germany, and all but one were monolingual speakers of German. Yáng who used Mandarin and Cantonese at home with her family was the only exception. Some other students who orbited around the larger group also were monolingual Germans. They did not participate in meetings with me, however. Michael showed up twice for meetings. His relationship apparently was mainly with Sara, Caren and Tanja. He was a rather quiet boy. An outstanding fact about him was that, a year prior, he had produced the ks-cluster.

Over the week, it became clear that the clique around Sara and Cianna spent substantially more time at school than many others in class. During afternoon programs or simply after the school bell rang they were still available to talk to me or even to participate in my research. This was not only due to me being at school, because I often came to school after lunch break to look for them. These even volunteered to spend breaks with me, and the only *Jenga* recording I have came from this group (although it ultimately did not enter my analysis). It appeared that these students felt comfortable in their school environment, and that there was a sense of belonging to this institution not mirrored in the way the girls

of Turkish descent acted in or spoke of their new schools. For instance, Arzu was the only student of Turkish descent who was able to take part in the follow-up study of Chapter 6 (see Section 6.5). She completed the session with me at school, exchanged a few collegial words with her non-Turkish peers, and left. Her best friend still was Sueda (#23) from the year before who was not in her class or school. The girls with Turkish background met off the school ground, and later I saw Sueda at the Bugi.

It also occurred rather often that the students around Sara and Cianna lived out conflict in their school environment. I witnessed three instances. Once, Caren was temporarily rejected by the group, and broke into tears. In another instance, Yáng and Cianna had a fight after school. A year later in 2014, Yáng either was excluded or excluded herself from the group on the day of our meeting. After the meeting ended, I found her sitting alone on the stairs in front of the school building. Out of all places her neighborhood had to offer, the school was where she chose to stay after a fight with her friends. School was a central place to these students, with both negative and positive connotations.

The fact that I rarely met girls at the secondary school was different from my experience in 2012, when I spent substantial time at the elementary school. While the networks in the NSE were not extremely mixed, they seemed much more fluid. It also appeared that the youth clubs that the new secondary school had contracted for its after-school-program were sending different personnel than what I had seen at the NSE where two tutors with a Polish and Russian migration background were in charge of the afternoon tutoring, for instance. At the NSE there also had been teachers and pedagogues with Turkish migrant

backgrounds. During my week at the secondary school I did not become aware of any teacher or pedagogue with migration background. My impression was that the environment this school offered was somewhat less diverse. The fact that there was only marginal linguistic diversity within the German-speaking group of students matched this pattern. The contrast between schools is best understood through a good description of the direct and indirect accommodations minority students experienced at the NSE.

8.3.2.2 Looking back: The Old Elementary School (NSE)

In 2012, Ms. Kern, the German teacher I stayed with, told me having two teachers with Turkish background had been a deliberate decision on the part of the school. Although it created marginal tension from time to time (as we shall see), the benefits by far outweighed the drawbacks, according to Kern. The efforts to create an inclusive atmosphere were rooted in the autochthonous teachers' initiative: besides taking steps to create diversity, Ms. Kern, for instance, made the effort to learn Turkish in order to better communicate with parents of her students. Although she felt that the effort was ultimately unsuccessful, the step had symbolic value for her students and possibly for parents: as the example of Öznur, above, showed, many students spoke highly of her even a year after they left the NSE. Her 'knowing Turkish' came up repeatedly in conversations with me.

Two teachers, called Ms. Avcı and Ms. Başak, here, and a special needs assistant, Ms. Çelik, were of Turkish descent and volunteered for two video interviews at the NSE. The two teachers were friends and were interviewed together. Their respective academic

careers bear striking similarities: After attending elementary schools with a very diverse student body, both entered the German *Gymnasium* to get their *Abitur.*[113] They experienced a lack of ethnic diversity and a pressure to achieve that eventually caused them to drop out of the *Gymnasium* in favor of so-called integrated schools (IGS). Here, they were also able to get the *Abitur* and found conditions more favorable:

> Ms. Avcı: It just felt better with regard to the people. There were rich kids to working class kids, [it was] completely normal. One just felt better at that school.
>
> Ms. Başak: Also mixed with regard to nationalities, –
>
> Ms. Avcı: Right, that too, yes.
>
> Ms. Başak: – that's very important, that you don't feel foreign, you know, as an alien element, so to say, in class.[114]
>
> (NSE-I5-Teacher A/B, p.3)

The experienced marginalization at the *Gymnasium* runs so deep to this day, that Ms. Avcı will not send her own children there in spite of recommendations. Both teachers are highly aware of the positive impact a diverse environment has on minority children. They also seem highly sensitized with regard to their unique position at the NSE: they perceive themselves as in a position of exceptional cultural and linguistic responsibility. For instance, as a class teacher, Ms. Başak said that she deliberately remains businesslike with Turkish parents who address her in Turkish, even if, culturally speaking, she would

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[113] The *Abitur* is the qualification for university entrance in Germany.

[114] Fr. Avcı: Also man fühlte sich einfach wohler von den Menschen her. Das war von reichen Kindern bis wirklich Arbeiterkinder, ganz normal. Und man fühlte sich einfach wohl auf dieser Schule.
Fr. Başak: Auch gemixt von den Nationalitäten, -
Fr. Avcı: Genau, das war auch, ja.
Fr. Başak: - das is' auch ganz wichtig, dass man sich nich' fremd fühlt, ne, so als Fremdkörper, so, in der Klasse.

be expected to be more cordial. She noted that it would be 'unfair' if she treated Turkish parents any different from other parents. In school, she claims not to tolerate Turkish children speaking Turkish with her because she believes it would compromise her role as a class teacher. At the same time, Ms. Başak taught a weekly Turkish course in the afternoon at the NSE at the time of the interview.

Both Ms. Avcı and Ms. Başak also managed and taught the newly introduced Islamic religion classes at the school.[115] These classes were taught in German, since non-Turkish Muslims also attended. With regard to the new double role as a class teacher and Islamic religion teacher, Ms. Başak told me that she does 'not lay herself open to attack', and proudly related how she was the only teacher to stage a Christmas celebration for her class, while other teachers in her cohort had no Christmas event: 'As a Muslim I invited all children and parents… We baked cookies – the whole nine yards' (NSE-I5-Teacher A/B, p.13: both female, Turkish/German). Again and again, Ms. Başak felt that she had to confirm and clarify her 'neutrality' within the institution.

However, even if both Ms. Avcı and Ms. Başak emphasized their impartiality in the context of the NSE, at several points in the interview they also spoke about conflicts. Because I witnessed the self-referential use of *Ausländer* 'foreigner' among students of migrant background, I asked them whether they would apply this (seemingly derogatory)

[115] Note that in Germany Catholic and Protestant students have received religious instruction in schools ever since the introduction of the public school system until today.

term for themselves. Their answers initially diverged: Ms. Avcı answered ‘yes’ while Ms. Başak shook her head. As a consequence of their disagreement, they elaborated:

> Ms. Avcı: I don’t feel German – I also can’t say that I feel Turkish.
>
> Ms. Başak: One is torn, you know, one does not know what one is.
>
> Ms. Avcı: Yes, I am born here, I am here – But I can’t say that I’m German, because –
>
> Ms. Başak: For that the cultural differences are too big and just like that, what –
>
> Ms. Avcı: The religious stuff maybe also adds on to that a bit…
>
> Ms. Başak: Yes, of course.
>
> Ms. Avcı: … First it goes: ‘Well, you are German’. – ‘Why?’ – ‘Well, you were born here, you have a German passport’. – ‘Yes’. – Then they say: ‘Then you are German. To me, you are German’.
>
> Ms. Başak: And then they say: ‘How is that with you people?’
>
> Ms. Avcı: Exactly. Two days later she says…
>
> Ms. Başak: The same one!
>
> Ms. Avcı: This colleague asks me: ‘Hey, how is that with you people?’ – ‘You mean us Germans or us Turks?’ (Ms. Başak laughs) [116]
>
> (NSE-I5-Teacher A/B, p.13f: both female, Turkish/German)

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[116] Fr. Avcı: Ich fühl’ mich nich’ Deutsch - - Also, ich kann auch nich’ sagen, ich fühl’ mich jetzt Türkisch.
Fr. Başak: Man is’ so hin und her, ne, man weiß gar nich’, was man is’.
Fr. Avcı: Ja, ich bin hier geboren, ich bin hier - - Aber ich kann nich’ sagen, dass ich Deutsch bin, weil - -
Fr. Başak: Dafür sind die kulturellen Unterschiede zu groß und auch so, was - -
Fr. Avcı: Das mit dem religiösen kommt vielleicht noch dazu, ‘n bisschen.
Fr. Başak: Ja, klar.
Fr. Avcı: Aber das is’ so - - Man wächst zwar hier auf, aber wenn ich dann von Kollegen höre – das erzähl’ ich ja immer wieder (an Başak) – dann heißt es so: ‚Ja, du bist doch Deutsch’. – ‚Warum?’ – ‚Ja, du bist hier geboren, du hast doch’n deutschen Ausweis’. – ‚Ja’ – Dann meinen sie: ‚Dann bist du doch Deutsch. Für mich bist du Deutsch’.
Fr. Başak: Und dann heißt es: ‚Wie is’n das bei euch?’
Fr. Avcı: Genau. Zwei Tage später sag diese –
Fr. Başak: Dieselbe!
Fr. Avcı: - diese Kollegin fragt mich: ‚Sag mal, wie is’n das eigentlich bei euch?’ – ‚Ja, bei uns Deutschen oder bei uns Türken?’ (Başak lacht)

Such passages of the interview not only describe incidents between autochthonous colleagues and new colleagues with migration background. They also show how the presence of teachers with Turkish background at the NSE is far from neutral: their experiences with hybridity, even if not shared with students or parents, are a basis for understanding students in a similar situation. I claim that the fact that students have teachers who relate to their background, religion, language, *and* struggles is crucial to creating the more inclusive atmosphere of the NSE. Beyond the usual nostalgia that comes with school change and getting older, these positive connotations appear to be the reason students such as Öznur gladly reminisced about the NSE while being less enthusiastic about their new school.

However, in spite of the range of commonalities Ms. Avcı and Başak share with their students, one area in particular appears to stand out as distinct from their students: Recounting their own bilingual biography, both teachers mentioned how Turkish was the dominant language of her home. German teachers helped Ms. Avcı attain a language level that enabled her successful academic performance early on. She contrasts her situation with her students' as follows:

> What I experience here is: [they are] speaking no proper Turkish at home… they want [to speak] German, so that their children speak German. Then the children learn this broken German, but also speak no proper Turkish – So, the children who speak bad German here, also speak bad Turkish.[117] (NSE-I5-Teacher A/B, p.8)

[117] Aber was ich hier erlebe, is': Kein richtiges Türkisch sprechen zu Hause, also die wollen ja dann Deutsch damit sie Deutsch sprechen, die sprechen aber so'n gebrochenes Deutsch, dann lernen sie (die Kinder) dieses gebrochene Deutsch, sprechen aber auch kein richtiges Türkisch – – Also die Kinder, die hier wirklich schlecht Deutsch sprechen, sprechen auch schlecht Türkisch.

When asked what she meant by 'broken German', it was difficult for her to pinpoint features. Eventually, she offered 'wrong articles' as an example. Ms. Başak suggested the example '*Geh' Bus sofort!'*, meaning 'Immediately go [to the] bus!', as typical for the German she heard Turkish parents use in conversation with their children. The omission of prepositions and gender variation were indeed also features found in some students' data during the video-retelling (cf. Chapter 7), and they are commonly associated with the multiethnolect (cf. Chapter 3).

In my second interview with a special needs assistant with Turkish background, Ms. Çelik, the topic of the linguistic situation at school resurfaced again. Ms. Çelik was 26 years old at the time of our interview and was assigned to help a boy with autism, to whom she also happened to be related. She had lived and grown up in the Siegfriedviertel like many of the children in the school and knew several of the families with Turkish roots personally. She claimed that some students in her current class were 'grammatically noticeable' and also had 'difficulties to find words' (NSE-I5-130618012721, p. 5). As a characteristic feature they have trouble with she listed 'articles, because in Turkish there are none'. She noted that these are difficulties many Turkish speakers deal with.

While Turkish does have articles, it indeed lacks grammatical gender, which is probably what Ms. Çelik refers to. When asked where she thought the more general difficulties originated, my interviewee did not resort to an explanation in second language acquisition. Instead she pointed to a lack of reading practices in families. What she saw in other families differed from her own biography: she had been an avid reader all her life,

'really a freak, one could say… walking around with my books on the train' (ibid). As another reason for problems with Standard German she noted that 'the parents, as I said, often also don't speak German so well'. (ibid:6). Upon asking her whether she believed that there was a connection between the German spoken by parents and children, she adamantly confirmed.

With regard to the prevalence of German in families with Turkish roots, she told me that in her own generation everyone in her family spoke 'completely only German' including the third and youngest generation (ibid:2f). She mentions singular examples of families in which Turkish is predominant due to a later arrival of the spouse from Turkey. However, these were exceptions to her general narrative. When prompted to comment on a statement by one of the preschool teachers with German background who told me that 50% of the children under her tutelage hear no German at all before they reached her institution, Ms. Çelik was very surprised and disagreed. Instead she noted that 'the higher the proportion of foreigners is in preschool, the more difficult it gets to learn German, because everything blends together there' (ibid:6).[118]

Knowing that Ms. Çelik was not only familiar with the neighborhood, but grew up there and knew other young parents personally, I also paid close attention to her German throughout the interview, although it was not a sociolinguistic interview *per se*. I noticed a few features commonly counted to the multiethnolect features listed in Chapter 3. In

[118] What Ms. C meant evidently referred to 'proper German' and not to the idea that incoming children had no prior knowledge of German.

particular, her use of the existential *es gibs* 'there is' (cf. Wiese & Duda 2012) stood out since it is a rare feature, overall. It occurred once in the group interviews with a participant of Albanian descent in 2012, and surfaced once in a brief conversation with a 2nd grader of African descent at the NSE in 2013. Ms. Çelik's is the only recording of an adult speaker I have, exhibiting the new existential.

There also were other adult interviewees who exhibited prosodic and phonological features associated with the German multiethnolect: Ms. Başak's intonation was often raised when it would not be expected in many German dialects. The brother-in-law of my assistant Duygu coronalized his fricatives without exception. There were subtle and yet perceivable multiethnolect features among adults of the early G2 who themselves speak German with their peers and younger family members. Transmission to younger speakers presented itself as a possibility at the Bugi as well, where the Turkish-speaking girls around Öznur, Açelya and Esra met. Their mothers and other women in their late twenties and thirties also congregated there frequently.

8.3.2.3 The Burgundenplatz (Bugi)

Although I rarely saw adolescents (with the exception of Esra) around the Bugi, German-born girls with their Turkish-born mothers appeared to share the space without the presence of the girls depending on the mothers being nearby or vice-versa. A reconstruction from my field notes describing my encounter with Öznur and Açelya's mothers gives a feeling for the way the women use the space and which languages are involved:

> A group of Turkish women of different ages are huddled together around a picnic table opposite the playground, snacking from plastic boxes and drinking warm tea from Turkish teacups. It is cool outside. It looks like rain. Like yesterday, Esra and Öznur are hanging around with Açelya the seesaw before they approach me. With the weather approaching, I directly ask them to introduce me to their parents. They take me over to the women, around 100 feet from their usual hang out. Açelya introduces me in Turkish. I nod at the women with a smile, receiving hesitant smiles back. Açelya explains in Turkish that she and her friends would like to record something for me. Having just completed a Turkish intensive course in Berlin, I can follow along quite well. I can see that Açelya's mom is uncomfortable about something. She answers something I cannot understand and ends with '…*istemiyorum',* – 'I don't want'. I ask informally: *'Ne istemiyorsun?*' – 'What do you not like?' The table roars up with laughter, an older lady is smacking the tabletop. The girls have their mouths open in surprise. The reaction to an outsider speaking a single (albeit slightly wrong) sentence in Turkish is very strong. The older woman asks where I am from. I answer and receive more questions, increasingly more difficult to understand with my very limited Turkish. Eventually, Açelya's mother switches to German. (based on FN-06-13-2013, p.8f.)

The use of rudimentary Turkish in the described situation turned out to be crucial in obtaining trust and eventually consent by Öznur and Açelya's mothers. Turkish is the in-group language used among younger and older Turkish women. In the course of our short conversation, however, after we completely switched to German, I learned that Açelya's mother came to Germany when she was six. By her intonation and some phonological cues in her German I was still able to tell, however, that she had a Turkish background. She code-switched with Açelya repeatedly and the daughter appeared comfortable speaking to her mother in both languages. It appeared that the use of Turkish strongly depended on who was present in a given place at a given time – and who was supposed to understand. When Açelya's mom figured that it was not practical to continue speaking Turkish (either to conceal something or to struggle with my mediocre Turkish), she switched to German. I was yet to learn, however, that the use of Turkish was not confined to members of the Turkish ethnic group in the neighborhood.

8.3.2.4 Historic Importance of Turkish in the Karl-Schmidt-Straße

Duygu, my assistant throughout the 2012 study at the NSE, invited me for an interview at her house. Her husband Özay ran a successful phone shop in the center of Braunschweig. Both he and his wife were born and raised in the Siegfriedviertel in the 1980s, and left the area a few years after they got married. They now lived in the *Westliches Ringgebiet*, not too far from the Weststadt. Initially, Duygu never mentioned her family's comparatively deep roots in the Siegfriedviertel. Once our first series of tests was completed, however, she realized that she had an important contribution to make: she knew the families of many of the children I was testing, and her own extended family was quite typical of the community.

Özay's father came to Germany in 1972 as a 22-year old guest worker, leaving behind his car repair workshop in Edirne, Turkey. He worked as a locksmith for a kitchen company in Gelsenkirchen, then returned home to marry his fiancée in 1973, bringing her back to Germany with him only a week later. He eventually switched to *Volkswagen* in Braunschweig, because his wife wanted to live closer to people from their hometown. The Siegfriedviertel offered affordable and decent housing – and a larger community of Turkish speakers. After forty years, Özay's parents still live in their apartment today.

Özay and Duygu enjoy reminiscing about their childhood days. Özay described the ethnic and social make-up of the neighborhood during the 1980s and 90s as follows:

> It always was a neighborhood for people with a lower income…, the Siegfriedviertel, …Yes, but what was different [when we were little] was – there were not as many Turks there back then.

> Because the Karl-Schmidt-Straße was being renovated, many moved from the Karl-Schmidt-Straße into the Siegfriedviertel, right, and…[119] (NS-I3-20130616105711)

I interrupted Özay at this point, because the 'Karl-Schmidt-Straße' frequently came up and had also been mentioned in a museum guide of Braunschweig's residential history. I asked Özay and he filled me in: the street used to be called 'little Istanbul', 'because there were only Turkish and Tunisian families living there'[120] (ibid). According to his brother, whom I met a year later, around 30-50 families with several hundred members chose to live in this street during the 1970s and 80s, forming a close-knit social network. Turkish shops opened and the Turkish State sponsored a mosque in walking distance, in the *Ludwigstraße*, which remains central to Muslims in the area until today. Duygu's father sometimes volunteers at the mosque, and Turkish still is the main language of communication there.

An important social spot for adolescents next to the Karl-Schmidt-Straße is a city-run youth club that started operating and catering to the community in the 1970s. Social worker Claus shared some insights with me on the history of the area, confirming that 'back in the day, this whole Karl-Schmidt-Straße… was actually only inhabited by Tunisian and Turkish families' (NS-I5-130612_5, p.7). Later many of these families moved to the Siegfriedviertel. Claus adds: 'Children grew up together. And Turkish was the main

[119] Also damals, als wir noch klein waren, sag ich mal, gab's da, ja, wie sagt man? Es war ja schon immer 'n Viertel für sozial schwache Menschen, sag ich jetzt mal, ne, das Siegfriedviertel. Ja, und anders war halt – da waren halt noch nich' so viele Türken, sag ich jetzt mal. Dadurch, dass die Karl-Schmidt-Straße saniert worden is', sind viele aus der Karl-Schmidt-Straße ins Siegfriedviertel gezogen, ne, und…

[120] Das wurde früher als ‚Klein Istanbul' bezeichnet, ja. Ja, weil da halt nur türkische oder tunesische Familien ansässig waren, ne.

language which is why all the Tunisian visitors that we have, also speak good Turkish'[121] (ibid). Sedat, a Turkish visitor sitting next to us, confirmed this saying that 'they understand everything' (ibid). Recalling Dirim & Auer's (2004) study of Turkish use among non-Turks in Hamburg, but also the function of Turkish as a lingua franca in East Leipzig, I had to admit that the importance of Turkish as a community language beyond the Turkish 'natives' had passed me by, so far.

Upon reflecting, some dots connected. I had seen the picture of Maryam, a German-born Tunisian girl from last year, on a picture in the hallway of the youth club when I entered. She had not indicated on her questionnaire that she knew Turkish. But she was one of the students whose free-sorting result suggested a perceived similarity between *kommen* 'to come' and *schleichen* 'to sneak'. If Tunisians and Turks formed a social, cultural and linguistic community throughout the 1970s, 80s and 90s, couldn't it be that a feature of Turkish spread into their shared usage of German?

The abstract social factor 'speaks Turkish' took on a new shape at this point: it was clearly more than a binary factor. The presence of Turkish speakers perhaps explained that the ks-cluster was found in both districts. But the spread of the perceived semantic similarity – and very likely the spread of other features – was not explained this way. More likely, it was rooted in the community's speaker networks and history. Today, Maryam has

[121] Also früher, diese ganze Karl-Schmidt-Straße hier, deswegen war'n wir auch so dicht dran, war eigentlich nur bewohnt von tunesischen und türkischen Familien. Und die Kinder sind miteinander aufgewachsen. Da wurde hauptsächlich Türkisch gesprochen und deswegen können die ganzen tunesischen Besucher, die zu uns kommen, auch gut Türkisch sprechen.

no connection anymore with the girls of Turkish descent at the Bugi, although they attended the same class at the NSE. And yet, German speakers of Turkish and Tunisian descent in the Siegfriedviertel often stem from families with roots in the Karl-Schmidt-Straße community. Sharing common linguistic features appears to go hand in hand with a shared migration history and experience.

Many families from Tunisia and Turkey also lived in the Freyastraße, where Özay's family still resides. Özay's father and brother recount that there was little separation between these groups for a long period of time, due to religious and cultural commonalities and a shared minority status in the district. As they explain the situation for me, they list 32 children of Turkish and Tunisian descent that were born in the 1980s, and grew up together within a block of the street. Özay's brother recalls: 'We never were in town. I was 14 when I went to town for the first time'. (NS-I3-140617_004, 45:25) As a child, Özay's brother remained in the neighborhood without ever venturing to the center of Braunschweig. The sacrifice the families made to attain some form of social cohesion in their neighborhood apparently also resulted in a certain social separation from the larger city. As Chapter 2 showed, this was the immigrant experience in many communities in Germany. In the next subsection, a network analysis of some of my participants will reveal that to this day, certain boundaries remain active in the community in the Siegfriedviertel in spite of attempts made by institutions such as the NSE to overcome these patterns.

8.3.3 SPEAKER NETWORKS AND FEATURES

Based on the interactions I witnessed, and the locations in the neighborhood my participants occupied, I brought together ethnographic observations and previous study results in a network diagram in Figure 8.3. The idea is based on Eckert's (2000:172f) 'sociogram of friendship groups' in which each dot represents a person, and each line stands for a 'friendship tie' named by her participants. My network diagram is less sophisticated, because it is based on my observations alone. The connectors between dots simply indicate that I witnessed certain students speaking with each other in 2013 and 2014, or I knew certain students were in close contact.

Each dot in the diagram is identified with a pseudonym and speaker ID (lacking only for Esra). If I did not witness speakers interacting with each other in the years 2013 and 2014, the dots are not connected. The length of the lines follows from the limitations of two-dimensional space and is not meaningful. Specifics on gender, speaker background and the test results from 2012 are indicated under the pseudonyms: 'features' relates to the sum of features in Chapter 7, 'pseudo-words' relates to the free-sorting results in Chapter 6, and (+/-) ks indicates whether or not a speaker produced the ks-cluster.

Recall that all speakers but Esra attended 4th grade at the NSE in 2012. All but Öznur (#7) and Cianna (#1) even attended the same class. All live in the Siegfriedviertel, except for Maryam (#33), who is included here to illustrate the historic connection to the Karl-Schmidt-Straße. The two arrows pointing from her to the bilingual Turkish-German group should be understood as indicating a shared history in the neighborhood.

The relevant localities are indicated to show where I witnessed interactions. The Burgundenplatz (Bugi) was the central meeting point for the bilingual female group of Turkish descent in the right of the graph. Recall that Açelya (#25) and Esra (Öznur's older sister) had somewhat of a leadership role in the group. Açelya's mother had herself grown up in the Siegfriedviertel and came there as a young girl of six years. She is a typical representative of generation 1.5: her German is absolutely fluent, but she still communicates with her daughter by code switching. She is in the same age group with my assistant Duygu, the special needs assistant at the NSE (whom she both knows) as well as Özay and his brother. The main difference between G1.5, and the early G2 on one hand and the later G2 (in Figure 8.3) on the other, is that Turkish was the main family language as the older generation grew up. All interviewees confirm that this has radically changed in their lifetime: none of them speaks more Turkish with their children than German, and German often has replaced Turkish as a family language, so that most of the everyday communication in these families is now in German.

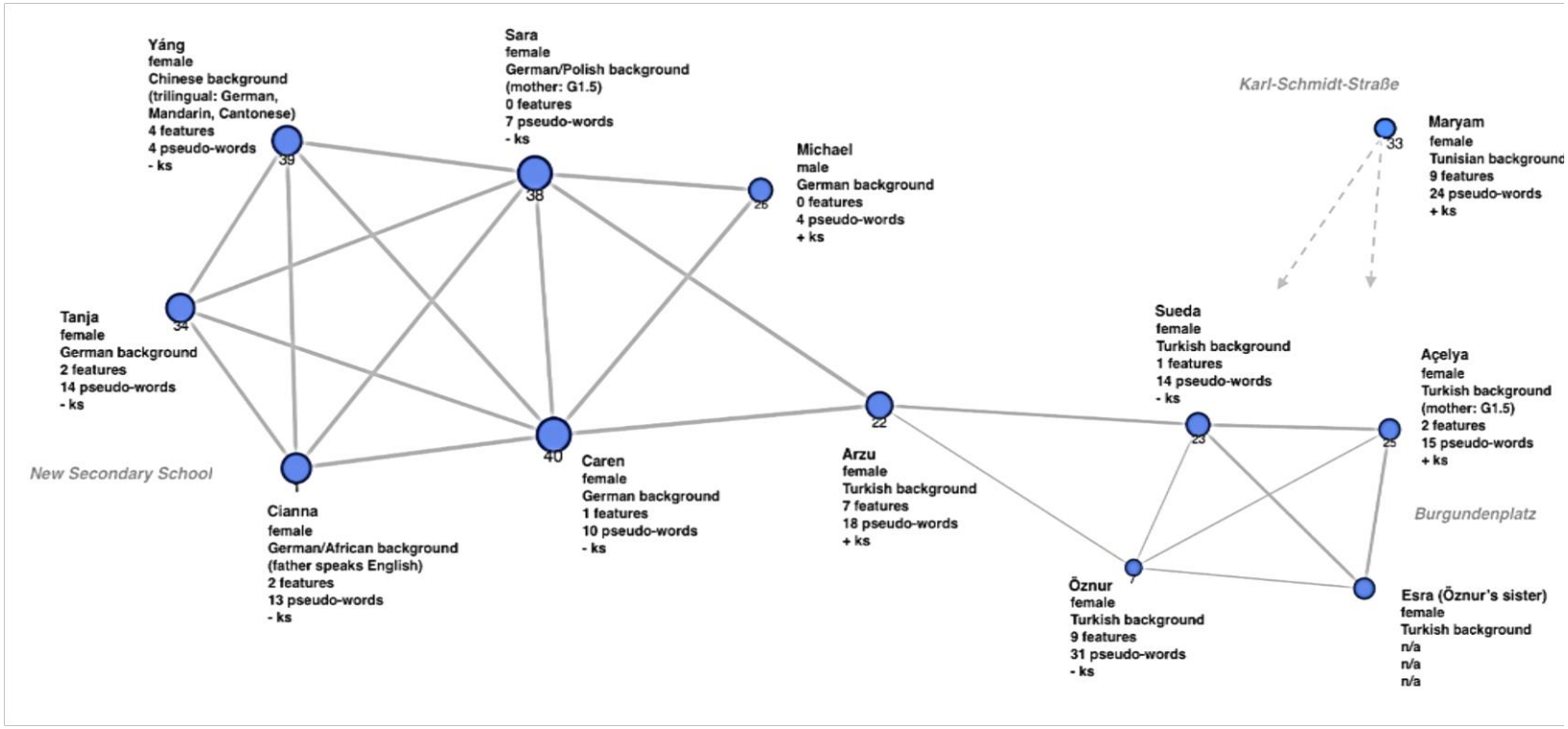

Figure 8.3: Networks in the Nordstadt.

The new secondary school plays a different role for the two speaker groups in my graph. School transition has basically fractured the in-school network of the Turkish-speaking girls. Initially, there even was a lack of trust in my activities at the new secondary school. Arzu (#22) was the only Turkish girl I interviewed in the new secondary school. In the graph above, she is situated between her classmates and the group of ethnically Turkish girls, because she was more familiar and comfortable with the non-Turkish students in her class than Öznur (#7). Arzu also left the new school building after hours. Although I never met her at the Burgundenplatz, I know that she was a close friend with Sueda (#23), whom I did meet there.

By contrast, the largely monolingual group of students to the left of the graph, seems to feel at home in the new school. The girls belong to a network of friends that transitioned into the school without loosing its in-school dynamic. As mentioned, the school environment appears to cater to this group more than to the female Turkish speakers who experienced a certain degree of comfort and accommodation at the NSE that they lost in secondary school.

Moving from social differences to differences in feature occurrence within and across the speaker groups, we can observe the following: First, it is obvious that none in the largely monolingual group exhibits a high feature count. Two speakers even have no features at all. The only multilingual speaker, Yáng (#39), has over 3 features, which is also rather low. Second, the amount of perceived pseudo-words is around 7. Finally, only

Michael (#26) exhibits the ks-cluster in this group. As mentioned, he lives right at the *Bugi*. Whether he has Turkish friends is not clear, but this possibility cannot be excluded. If so, his German could be influenced by the German of such speakers.

The network of Turkish-German bilinguals exhibits some differences within the group: Açelya (#25) and Sueda (#23), barely showed any morphosyntactic features reminiscent of the multiethnolect in the video-retelling task. However, Arzu (#22) and Öznur (#7) have fairly high counts. (We do not have data for Öznur's sister.) The range of pseudowords in the group is also variable with between 15 and 31 words. However, it is clearly higher than in the largely monolingual group. Two of the five Turkish-German speakers also exhibit the ks-cluster.

Maryam's (#33) data conforms more with the Turkish speakers than with the multiethnic group. Her feature count is high with 9 features. She counts as many as 24 pseudowords and she also exhibits the ks-cluster. As mentioned, a relevant tie between Maryam and the Turkish speaker network is the shared community history of the Turkish and Tunisian inhabitants of the Nordstadt. Community histories, it appears, can have an influence on the linguistic development of community members. A better explanation for the closeness of Maryam's linguistic feature count to many of the girls with Turkish background is difficult to come up with based on the data I was able to attain.

In any case, the network view nicely illustrates a crucial fact: there is a separation of speaker networks. A sort of 'multicultural' integration is not a reality for many students after they leave elementary school. In the given network view, it also appears that the

multiethnolectal features are mainly 'at home' within the Turkish-German speaker network at the age of late childhood. Here (and in the historically connected Tunisian community) we find distinctive, non-standard morphosyntactic features and semantic characteristics. While it may be true for the overall sample that certain features are more related to having 'non-native' parents (regardless of their origin) as suggested by regression analysis in Chapter 7, my ethnographic observations uncovered a Turkish-German bilingual network in the Nordstadt, in which features concentrate. Speakers in the predominantly monolingual German-speaking network do not share these features with the same intensity at the age of late childhood. Interestingly, however, I was able to witness that certain features may in fact cross from one network to the other in adolescence.

8.3.4 The Existence of 'Ghetto German' in the Nordstadt

I met with the group of monolingual speakers for the last time in front of a bakery, in summer 2014. Ms. Kern, the former elementary school teacher of the kids, was also present. After they arrived, they started telling us about their second school year at the secondary school. When Ms. Kern asked why their class had gone on a certain school excursion, Caren responded '*weil wir Umweltschule sind*' ('because we are [an] environmental school', i.e. a school with a particular emphasis on environmental education). The missing article was only one of several cues that indicated a shift in Caren's style of speaking to me. I jotted it down, because it caught my attention as a morphosyntactic cue. But there were also phonological features that stood out. Caren had

struck me as a rather fragile and quiet member of the group in previous years (I once had to console her when the others excluded her from the group). Now, at the end of sixth grade, however, she was lending her voice a more forceful intonation, with a repeatedly rising pitch, and was speaking clearly above the noise level of the previous year when I barely understood her. The changes were reminiscent of themes of 'toughness' reported in Eksner's (2006) study of Turkish teenagers in Berlin (cf. Chapter 3). Caren no longer appeared as a 'weak' or 'vulnerable' girl. From my perspective, she was donning a new assertiveness and used linguistic features associated with the 'multiethnolect' in doing so.

Although I did not experience the association of 'toughness' with multiethnolect features among children from migrant families in the Nordstadt, some interviewees in the district directed my attention to ways of speaking in adolescence that apparently were so stylistically different that they caught attention. Ms. Drobny, a tutor of Polish background at the NSE, for instance, referred to a certain way of speaking as *Ghettodeutsch* ('ghetto German'). She described it as being 'soft' in sound, but having a distinctive *Akzen*t ('accent, emphasis', often referring to prosodic emphasis in German). She eventually imitated sounds with a burst-like pulmonal egression. Although her description in lay terms does not permit solid conclusions, the most obvious features for her were evidently prosodic and phonetic in nature. The 'softness' Ms. Drobny refers to could describe coronolized fricatives, and the burst-like sounds could be her impression of the 'staccato' accent patterns typically mentioned in the prosodic and phonetic descriptions of multiethnolects (cf. Dirim & Auer 2004:207, Kern & Selting 2006, Keim 2007:232, Wiese

2012:120, and Auer 2013). When I asked Ms. Drobny who spoke this way, she referred to *Migranten* 'migrants', specifying that she believed it originated with Turkish youth. But she also stated that some children at the school already spoke this way. Two 10-year old Turkish girls she worked with at the NSE would switch to this way of speaking when 'they want to play, sort of'. (NSE-130612_2-Selam&Nala, p.13f.) Besides these ludic stylistic ventures, the girls spoke 'good German', according to the tutor. Mainly, she saw *Ghettodeutsch* as a phenomenon of puberty that already started in elementary school.

In the Weststadt, I further explored whether there were tangible changes in the way students spoke on the verge of adolescence. Although my observations there were less extended and elaborate than in the Nordstadt, some patterns emerged that were very helpful in better understanding the 'multiethnolect' phenomenon in immigrant communities more generally, because the focus in the Weststadt was not primarily on speakers of Turkish descent.

8.4 Emsviertel & Alsterplatz

8.4.1 A JOG AWAY: THE EMSSTRASSE

Making the distance between Lehndorf and the Weststadt my daily jogging route turned out to be a good decision. The route led through pastures and fenced garden plots directly into the Emsstraße where a table tennis set and benches waited for more exercises. With my 'gym' located between the high-rise apartments, spontaneous encounters were bound

to take place. On some occasions I met students I had worked with in 2012 at the WSE, and I sometimes also met their parents this way. However, the lasting impression I got was that this neighborhood had a quiet ambience, not comparable to East Leipzig, for instance, where I had worked for several years or to immigrant neighborhoods of Berlin. Although over 23000 people lived in the relatively dense space of the Weststadt, there was not too much going on during the summers of 2013 and 2014. In 2014, an additional reason for the tranquility of the neighborhood may have been the soccer world cup that fell exactly into the time of my visit. With people being from various nationalities in the neighborhood, many may have been absorbed in the early rounds of the games.

In spite of the overall calm character of the neighborhood, one group that I did meet during my daily jogs in 2013 consisted of three former WSE students and their new friends. The former WSE students were Ali and Canalp, two Turkish-speaking boys, and Victor, a boy of Russian-Ukranian descent. Roman, a boy of Russian descent, and Matteo, a boy of Italian descent were their new friends from secondary school. Outside of school I met them hanging out between the buildings around benches aligned around a playground. All but Canalp were born into G2 of immigrant families. Canalp was in G3. Together, they represented the ethnically and linguistically most diverse cluster of German speakers I encountered in the three years of my research. Both Ali and Canalp had also produced the ks-cluster in the sorting test.

The boys were also frequent guests at a youth club not far from the Alsterplatz. Canalp and Ali were soccer enthusiasts and had formed a soccer team there for a

tournament that took place a few months before my arrival in 2013. Pictures from the tournament suggested that they took sports very seriously. This matched up with an instance where Matteo and Canalp vigorously imitated my workout in the middle of the residential towers, almost making me regret that I showed them my exercises.

Between my time working out, visiting the new secondary school, interviewing adults and roaming the neighborhood, I was able to shape a preliminary understanding of the way features associated with so-called multiethnolects were 'at home' in the Weststadt in a distinct way from the Nordstadt.

8.4.2 THE NEW SECONDARY SCHOOL

The secondary school my participants attended in 2013 was located directly next to the WSE, in the middle of the Alsterplatz. The school is an integrated school (IGS) of the type that Ms. Avcı and Ms. Başak from the Nordstadt attended: it combines all three German school tracks under one roof. Students who want to go for the *Abitur*, have to attend the school longer than other students, and they usually attend a different set of classes at some point. The school is the largest of the area and has close to 1000 students. At the time a specific wing of the building was reserved for the incoming students in fifth grade.[122] Classes were thematically organized in order to create team spirit and cohesion among students: some students were in the 'guitar class', for instance, and regularly practiced

[122] The institution moved to a new location not far from the old school building after my last visit.

guitar songs as a whole class. The concept was unlike anything I had heard of or seen at the secondary school in the Nordstadt.

One of my first impressions also was that students had been absorbed by the new school, and that they were not hanging out in exactly the same patterns as in elementary school. Some pairs of friends, such as Julia (#42), a migrant girl from Brazil, and her friend Izabela (#73), a girl of Polish descent, were now associated with each other when they had not been close at the WSE. Other friends remained close, such as Ali and Canalp, but had expanded their contacts to peers from other elementary schools. Yet again other students were completely out of touch with the former WSE students and befriended a new set of kids entirely. My choice of students to work with was based on the need for the preexisting data. Ali's was an opportune group because there were at least three speakers with a WSE past and because I was able to locate his group outside of school.

It was clear that the boys in this group were getting very close to puberty. The style of clothes Matteo wore and certain gestures Canalp, Ali and Victor made suggested that they were familiar if not emulating German hip-hop culture idols in some instances. This seemed less important to Roman, who seemed rather plain in dress and behavior. A particular moment in the schoolyard encapsulates the characteristics of the group I observed in contrast with another group of boys who were apparently of German origin. It was a sunny day. Ali, Canalp, Victor and Matteo were standing next to each other on a paved area in the shade of some bushes, talking, shifting from one leg to another and staring

out on the open, paved schoolyard. After a while Ali saw me and greeted me, cocking his head to the side. His demeanor was cool and casual.

At the same time, a group of boys of German background was out in the sun, madly chasing each other, and squeaking as they were climbing over a huge plastic stowage box for winter gravel. In their wild play, they ignored everyone around them. They were not being ignored, however: Ali, Canalp, Matteo and Victor were watching them. Some in the group seemed amused; some seemed indifferent. Given that all kids in the schoolyard were from the same 'newcomer wing' and roughly the same age, the different ways of behaving stood in a perceivable contrast: one group of boys showed many signs of being at the beginning of adolescence. The other group was acting child-like, and was not socially concerned about it. The scene made me curious as to whether the perceivable shift in behavior was matched with measurable or observable changes in language use in the group. As discussed in Subsection 7.2.2 of Chapter 5, the shift that speakers undergo when transitioning from childhood to adolescence is undisputed. There is a lack of clarity, however, with regard to when the shift exactly occurs, and when children turn from faithful imitators of their surroundings into leaders of linguistic change (cf. Roberts 2002:344).

I also sensed that popularity with girls was on the horizon for Ali and some of his friends. This came out in particular, when I created mixed groups to record students during a *Jenga* game. The relationship between the boys and certain girls from the former WSE was amicable but not particularly close. Julia (#42) and Izabela (#73), as well as Talia (#41) were most comfortable with Ali. The girls conversed easily with him, but avoided his more

talkative friend Canalp. Julia (#42) and Izabela (#73) hung out together during recess time, and Talia (#41) had a new German friend, Sandra (friend 3). I never saw the girls outside of school.

8.4.3 Speaker Networks and Features

Before discussing any linguistic traits I observed in 2013, it helps to remember what speakers did during the tests in 2012. The network diagram in Figure 8.4, below, was established in the same way as Figure 8.3, above. Due to more time limits imposed on my observations in the Weststadt it has to be interpreted with more caution though. There also is no reliable data accounting for morphosyntactic features, for instance, because Julia and Canalp were the only speakers who participated in the video-retelling task (cf. Chapter 7). What stands out is that the ks-cluster not only occurred among the two boys of Turkish descent, but also with two girls. The extremely high number of words that all speakers were unfamiliar with during the free-sorting task is also notable. On average, the students didn't know half of the motion verbs they were presented with in 2012. This pattern arose across the board. Judging from Julia and Canalp's data alone, we cannot answer whether the semantic characteristics across speakers went hand in hand with morphosyntactic characteristics classified as 'non-standard' in Chapter 7. However, what Figure 8.4 does show is that Julia's count is very high, with 11 features, and that Canalp's count is fairly low, with 3 features. These numbers could be related to speaker backgrounds.

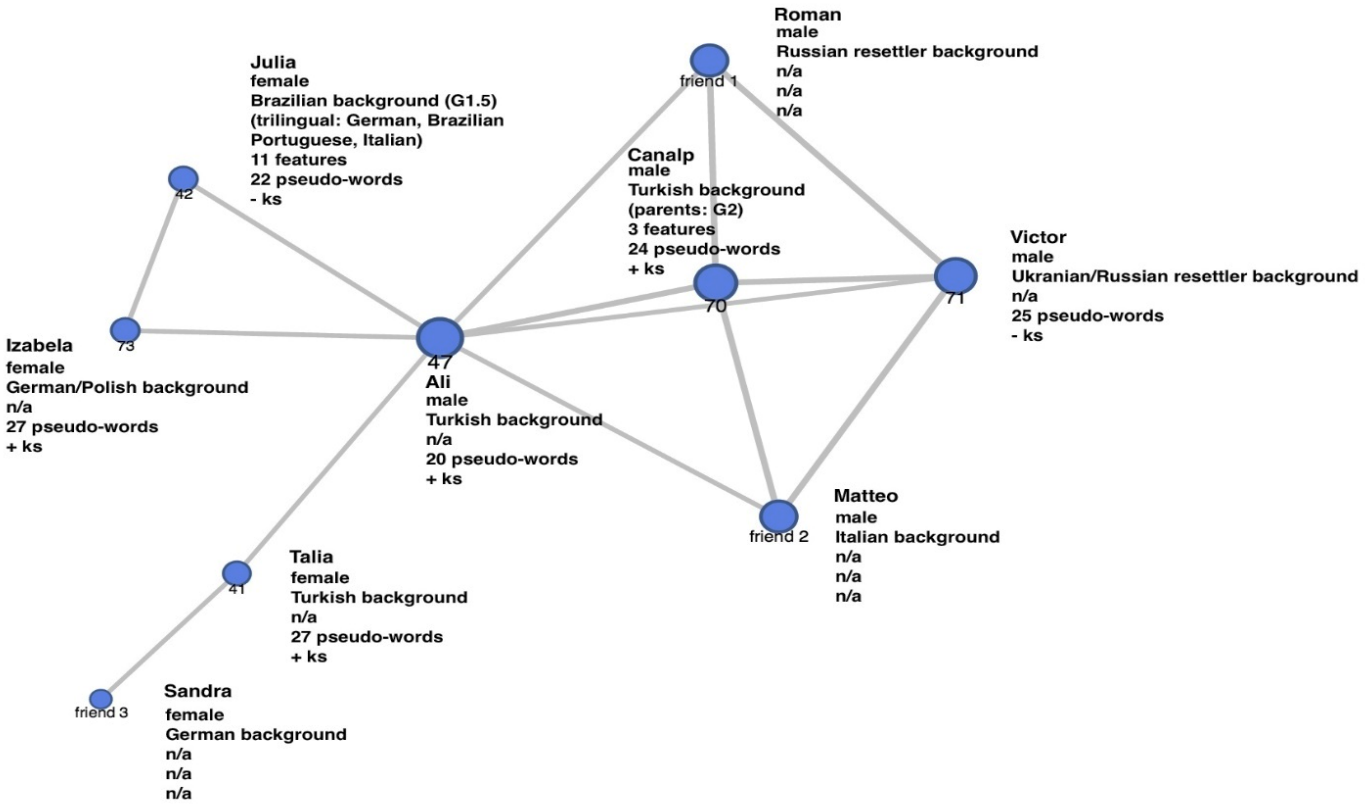

Figure 8.4: Network in the Weststadt.

Julia arrived in Germany when she was four years old. She was the only student in G1.5 in the speaker sample in Chapter 7.Canalp, on the other hand, stood at the other end of the generational spectrum: he was a German-born bilingual in G3 of a family from Turkey. In other words: the numbers in the diagram referring to morphosyntactic variation stem from two speakers at very different stages in the immigration process. The middle of the generational spectrum, students of G2, is unfortunately not covered by the diagram.

In 2013, I organized a *Jenga* session with five of the students to see whether I would find features that gave leads to changes in the speech practices of the now 12-13 year old kids: I set up a camera and had Ali, Julia, Victor, Canalp, and Izabela build *Jenga* towers repeatedly until they collapsed. I left the room while they coordinated their efforts to build a high tower. The resulting 18 minutes of recording yielded little data that was morphosyntactically remarkable. Only Izabela exhibited an instance of non-standard word order and conjunction use. Partially, this low yield of examples was also due to the game itself, which often required silent concentration and short commands rather than extended conversation. However, there were some prosodic and phonological cues (such as Ali's coronalization, and certain staccato-like accent patterns by Canalp and Victor) that are considered characteristic for multiethnolects in the literature (see Subsection 8.4.4, above). A look at the earlier recordings from 2012, the recorded background interviews (I1) and group interviews (I2) with the same speakers, revealed that these cues were already present the year before, at the WSE. There were no remarkable changes, in spite of the visible

changes in physique, dress code and behavior that placed most students in the network in late childhood or early adolescence.

Examples of non-standard inflectional morphology in the speech of Ali, Izabela, Talia and Victor were evident from recordings presented and discussed in Chapter 5, Sub-subsection 5.5.2.1. Examples from Ali (#47) and Izabela (#73) offered instances of non-standard German gender and case. Article omission occurred in an interview with Talia (cf. Chapter 5, Sub-subsection 5.5.2.2). Were there locatable instances of non-standard features in 2013? A more careful look beyond the *Jenga* game data revealed gender variation in a conversation with Canalp, when he assigned feminine gender to the neuter noun *das Land* 'the land, the country'. Non-standard inflectional morphology with regard to case assignment occurred when Roman reported about language practices in his home. In 8.1 he replaced some dative plural possessives with the accusative plural possessives.

(8.1)

Ja,	***also***	***ich***	***spreche***	***mein-e***	***eltern***	***russisch***
Yes,	well	1s	speak.1s	my-ACC.p	parents	Russian
	...ich	*spreche*	*mit*	*mein-<u>en</u>*	*Eltern*	*russisch*
	…1s	speak.1s	with	my- DAT.p	parents	Russian
mit	***mein-e***	***geschwister***	***sprech***	***ich***	***deutsch***	***und***
with	my-ACC.p	siblings	speak.1s	1s	German	and
mit	*mein-<u>en</u>*	*Geschwister-<u>n</u>...*				
with	my-DAT.p	siblings-<u>DATp</u>…				
mit	***meinem***	***freund,***	***auch***	***deutsch.***		
with	my-DAT.s	friend	also	German		

'Yes, well, I speak Russian with my parents, with my siblings I speak German and with my friend also German'. (WSE-I4-130620_001, p. 3: male, German/ Russian/ Ukranian)

Another feature in (8.1) was the missing preposition *mit* 'with' in the first line. Talia also skipped prepositions occasionally. When I walked her back to her class, she wanted me to convince her teacher that going to a local swimming pool with her class would be a good idea. In her attempts to make me an advocate of fun, she asked:

(8.2)

können	***Sie***	***unser-en***	***lehrer***	***überreden,***	
Can.2s.HON	2s.HON	our-ACC	teacher	convince.INF	
dass	***wir***	***Raffteich***	***gehen***	***können?***	
that	1p	Raffteich	go.INF	can.1p	
dass	*wir*	*zum*	*Raffteich*	*gehen*	*können?*
that	we	to.the	R.	go.INF	can

'Can you talk our teacher into going to the Raffteich (swimming pool) with us?' (WSE-I4-130620_004, 1.10 min: female, German/Turkish)

The omission of *zum* 'to the' (a contraction of the preposition *zu* 'to' and the masculine dative article *dem*) before *Raffteich* is typical for German 'multiethnolects' (cf. Chapter 3, Sub-subsection 3.3.3.5). However, it is not the most interesting part of this example. What is surprising is the juxtaposition of a typical multiethnolect feature with the formal German mode of address *Sie* 'you.HON'. From the viewpoint of multiethnolect research in Germany today, it would seem contradictory that Talia trying to be formal while at the same time 'stylizing' her speech as it is typical in 'youth language'. Not a single author discussed in Chapter 3 associates the multiethnolect with a formal register. The issue, however, can be resolved if Talia simply formalized her most 'immediate' or 'natural' register of German. Rather than being a counter-intuitive, stylistic code-switch, example

(8.1) could be an example of Talia's first-acquired register of German, slightly modified in a situation of relative formality.

Although all these observations were single instances and the context of obtaining this data was clearly different from the video-retellings in Chapter 7, the impression remains that the network in Figure 8.4 consists of speakers who from time to time exhibit features associated with multiethnolects. However, in spite of some speakers showing clear signs of puberty, the students did not showcase any of these features in a stylized way. Rather, the features hardly stood out and only a diligent search with occasional resorts to data from 2012 revealed them in the recordings from 2013. The next step I took in reaching a better understanding of speech practices and networks in the Emsstraße & Alsterplatz neighborhoods were interviews with the students' German teachers.

8.4.4 Asking the German Teachers

Did other observers also come across 'uncontrived' non-standard morphosyntactic features in students' spoken language? Or were some students exaggerating their use of certain features in acts of stylization? I interviewed the two German teachers of my participants, Ms. Setzer and Mr. Lehmann, in two separate sessions. Ms. Setzer was 32 at the time of the interview. She was born in Serbia, had married a German and studied English and German. She mastered the languages to an extent that she became a teacher and had been teaching both for four years at the secondary school level, at the time of our interview. In spite of not living in the Weststadt, Ms. Setzer said she knows 'which milieu students come

from' and that she is able to empathize with students due to her own background (WS-I5-130619_001, p.1).

Mr. Lehmann's connection with the neighborhood was somewhat stronger. He had served the community as a teacher for 32 years, and also did not live too far from the school (albeit in a different district), at the time of our interview. Over the years, he had been able to foster relationships with his students and their parents 'that go as far as making visits at home and being invited to private events' (WS-I5-130619_004, p.1). Without claiming to be an 'insider', Mr. Lehmann said that his insights are not attainable only through the classroom situation. He also has a migration background from Hungary, because his parents were German resettlers to the *Bundesrepublik* after WWII.

The linguistic reference point during the interviews with the teachers was Standard German. Early in the interview Ms. Setzer and Mr. Lehmann both clarified that they see a correlation between having a migration background and making 'mistakes' in German. For both teachers, the assignment of grammatical case stood out as a particularly problematic area for students. Ms. Setzer stated that she observes the dative often being replaced with the accusative, and the genitive rarely being used. Mr. Lehmann qualified that his observations mainly held for written language, and that the differences were less obvious to him in spoken language. Stylization was evidently not an issue he was concerned with.

Mr. Lehmann mentioned the areas of word order and verbal inflection as other grammatical realms that students with migration background struggle with. Ms. Setzer did not see word order as very problematic, but brought up the issue of omissions:

> Then they also rarely use prepositions. They also omit them quite often and don't think it is necessary to completely express a sentence. More specifically, many say the preposition but as a general rule the article does not follow after that.[123] (WS-I5-130619_001, p.2)

Without my prompting the topic, both teachers also mentioned that children with migration background often had a more limited lexicon. Mr. Lehmann spoke of a lack of *Sprachsicherheit* 'linguistic confidence' when students 'want to name things, pronounce them, but don't have the right words, yes, because they don't exactly know the meaning or the word is simply lacking'[124] (WS-I5-130619_004, p.3). Ms. Setzer related this to a lower exposure to reading German.

In short, the teachers mentioned many of the more frequent non-standard features mentioned in Chapters 6 and 7. When asking them how they thought these non-standard features entered their students' German, Ms. Setzer responded that she believed some students only spoke the parents' language at home, and learned German later. She added that parents who 'came to Germany very late to work' and spoke 'broken German' may actually 'foster these linguistic habits with children and not only use their native language' which eventually would lead to situations in which 'they also transmit that [broken German] to their children' (WS-I5-130619_001, p.3).

Mr. Lehmann seemed even more convinced that feature transmission actually takes place in families. He vividly related the following anecdotal example from a teacher-parent

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[123] Dann verwenden sie ja auch selten Präpositionen. Sie lassen sie ja auch ganz oft aus und sie halten es nicht für notwendig, dann den Satz halt vollständig auszusprechen beziehungsweise viele sagen dann die Präposition aber danach folgt ja auch der Artikel in der Regel nicht.

124 Ja, Unsicherheiten so im Ausdrucksvermögen, dass sie Dinge benennen wollen, aussprechen wollen, dafür aber die richtigen Worte nicht haben, ja, weil sie die Bedeutung nicht genau kennen oder eben einfach das Wort fehlt, ne.

conference. A father of Turkish descent (G2), got upset with his son (G3), who repeatedly received money for the purpose of buying a school notebook and evidently had failed to buy the notebook again the same day:

> [T]he father exploded a bit and lost his countenance. He was trying hard to speak Standard German and in this moment, when he got a bit agitated, he snapped at his son and this sentence came out: *'Hast du nicht gekauft heute Heft?*' – 'Did you not buy today notebook?' Right? And then he smacked the tabletop, right? And before he had actually spoken pretty good German and in this excitement a form of German came out, making me think: 'That's how they will speak at home'. … And that is the original voice that I hear from this student in class, you know. He speaks like that and writes like that.[125] (WS-I5-130619_005, p.1)

In Standard German, the father's question '*Hast du nicht gekauft heute Heft?'* would have been rendered in a different order with the object *Heft* 'notebook' in third and the participle *gekauft* 'bought' in the last position. With the missing article the full standard sentence would have been: '*Hast du das Heft heute nicht gekauft?'* The instance nicely illustrates the possibility that a very different type of German could indeed be the family language of some of Ms. Setzer's and Mr. Lehmann's students, the development of the ability to switch registers between family language and Standard German notwithstanding.

I asked Mr. Lehmann about any observations he had made over the years with regard to the social landscape of the neighborhood that might account for such linguistic developments. Mr. Lehmann explained that he believed there had been a change, but 'not

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[125] …explodierte der Vater so ein bisschen und hat seine Contenance so verloren. Der war sehr bemüht eben Hochdeutsch zu sprechen und in dem Moment wo er etwas erregt war blaffte er so seinen Sohn an und dann kam dieser Satz: ‚Hast du nicht gekauft heute Heft?' Ja? So er schlug dann auch noch so auf den Tisch, ja? Vorher sprach er richtig ein eigentlich ganz gutes Deutsch und in dieser Erregung kam dann die Form von Deutsch wo ich gedacht habe: ‚So werden die zu Hause auch sprechen'. …Und das ist so Originalton, wie ich den Schüler auch im Unterricht erlebe, ne. Also so spricht der und so schreibt der auch, ne.

in a way one would hope for' (WS-I5-130619_004, p.10): Instead of there being more interethnic contacts in the neighborhoods, Mr. Lehmann believed to observe that larger ethnic groups, such as the Turkish, Russian and Polish communities, were intensifying inner-group relations at the cost of contacts with other inhabitants of the neighborhoods. Mr. Lehmann continued to say that the children of Turkish background and from Eastern European communities were often 'clinging to each other and multiplying their problems that way' (ibid).

Several preschool teachers I interviewed in the area confirmed the observation of partial isolation between groups. Torsten, a social worker from the youth club that my male participants attended, directed my attention to the religious communities in the district:

> I'm under the impression that there are also Russian speakers in the Weststadt who isolate themselves. They are not so much out and about with people who speak other languages, but they really hide away, I would say. Maybe that also has to do with the Russians, the Russian-speaking inhabitants being very religious, maintaining their faith, so that they don't want to step outside because of their faith.[126] (WS-I3-130618_005, p.6)

He then mentioned a Baptist 'House of Prayer' not far from the youth club and suggested that people there rarely interacted outside of their faith group. He added that this behavior was not a unique case and was found among people of other religious orientations. He did not specify which religious communities he meant.

[126] Ich habe den Eindruck, dass es auch russischsprachige Einwohner der Weststadt gibt, die sich abschotten. Die also nicht unbedingt mit anderen, mit Anderssprachigen unterwegs sind, sondern sich tatsächlich einigeln, würd' ich mal sagen. Aber das hat vielleicht auch damit zu tun, dass die Russen dann, die russischsprachigen Einwohner hier, so gläubig geprägt sind, so den Glauben pflegen, dass sie durch den Glauben dann irgendwie nicht nach außen treten möchten.

When looking back at interviews with my informants of Turkish descent in the Nordstadt, I noticed that the topic of religion surfaced there, too, a few times. The passage above from Ms. Avcı and Başak at the NSE is one such an example. Two other instances that highlighted the role of religion as a factor for in-group-orientation, were an interview with my assistant Duygu (G2, Turkish descent) and her best friend Enisa from Bosnia (G1, in Germany for 10 years), as well as an instance in which Özay's brother (G2) listed commonalities between the Turkish and Tunisian community, among which he counted the common religion. Similar to the described in-group orientations of various Eastern European Christians, Muslims were mentioning religion as a factor in the choice of friends and social contacts.

Before I went to visit the Eastern European communities of Baptists and Catholics myself, to learn more about the linguistic environment there, the topic of typical linguistic features in these communities arose. In connection to the phenomenon of 'crossing' (Rampton 1995) that I had possibly witnessed with Caren in the Nordstadt, I asked Ms. Setzer about her observations on students without migration background. In response, she stated that the influence of students with migrant background on autochthonous children was not less prevalent than the other way around, in her experience. She witnessed children with a German background who 'deliberately refrain from using articles when speaking with Russian kids or Polish kids'[127] (WS-I5-130619_001, p.9).

[127] Ich hab' dann schon mal miterlebt, dass halt, ja, die deutschen Kinder, ja, bewusst jetzt auf auf zum Beispiel die Verwendung von Artikeln … verzichten, wenn sie ja mit russischen Kindern oder mit polnischen Kindern reden.

8.4.5 THE POLISH AND RUSSIAN-SPEAKING COMMUNITIES

Although the Baptist 'House of Prayer' was religiously not relevant to any of my direct informants, I paid a brief visit to it. The pastor initially seemed wary, but warmed up quickly at my request to tell me about the languages spoken in his congregation. The pastor's son (around 5-6 years of age) came closer and listened to our conversation. The pastor shared that in his community there is a clear shift to speaking German. All services are translated and bible school is in German. Indeed, I only saw German ads on the church billboard. With a hint of melancholy, pastor told me that his own son barely spoke Russian anymore. When the son interrupted us to ask his dad something, I could clearly hear the Russian influence on his German pronunciation.

At a Russian supermarket not far from the church a customer and clerk around my age agreed to talk to me. On around 50 m^2 the store sold Russian groceries and Russian-orthodox religious merchandise. Printed media in Russian did not appear on the shelves anywhere, but there were a few ads in Russian. After exiting his family van, the customer told me that everyone in his family speaks German now, including his children. His wife now also spoke German with them. He explained that the role of Russian and German is subject to the way families handle it:

(8.3)	***kommt***	***auf***	***familie***	***an!***	
	Depend.3s	on	family	on	
	Kommt	*auf*	*<u>die</u>*	*Familie*	*an!*

'It depends on the family!' (FN-06-17-2014, p.1)

As in this short phrase, articles were missing throughout his explanation.

The clerk told me that the language of communication among employees in the store is Russian. Being the only Russian speaker at his school outside of the Weststadt had made him personally shift to German 'almost unnoticeably'. His female colleague spoke German fluently with customers. When he gave me directions to a building nearby, he omitted a pronoun:

(8.3) ***dann*** ***siehst*** ***du!***
Then see.2s 2s
Dann *siehst* *du* *<u>es</u>!*
'Then you'll see it!' (FN-06-17-2014, p.1)

When I entered the Polish grocery store, not far from the Russian store, I heard customers of different ages speaking Polish with each other. A female clerk told me that most customers know Polish, but that there are also German and Russian customers. Her own daughters spoke no Polish, however. Two little girls in the shop spoke German with each other, but one girl paid for a stack of chocolate bread in Polish. Far from being unable to speak German, an older lady immediately switched to German and counseled me with regard to a chocolate purchase.

The Catholic church that most customers and several of the Polish students at the WSE and secondary school attended, was right across the street. I heard Polish on my way from the store to the church: young mothers were conversing in the language. Like many of the

long-established Polish speakers in the Weststadt, the secretary at the church came from former Silesia. Recent migration from Poland had substantially increased the so-called Polish mission at the church, she said. While she had me sit down to wait for the priest, her daughter called. The complete conversation on the phone was in German. Several omissions on behalf of the mother were obvious. With regard to my discussion of omitted separable prefixes in Chapter 6, the following example is interesting:

(8.4)	***ich***	***schreib***	***mir***	***ihre***	***handynummer.***	
	1s	write.1s	me.DAT	her.ACC	cell.phone.number	
	Ich	*schreib*	*mir*	*ihre*	*Handynummer*	*auf.*

'I'll write down her cell phone number'. (FN-06-17-2014, p.1)

The split-verb *aufschreiben* 'to write down' turned into *schreiben* in the dialogue by way of omission. *Schreiben* has the standard meaning 'to write' but is interpreted here to mean 'write down'. The pattern is very similar to what I observed among students in 2012 with regard to the verb *sich anschleichen* and the remaining stem *sich schleichen* (cf. Chapter 6).

During our conversation, the Catholic priest estimated that the Polish community of Braunschweig consisted of 20,000 speakers. However, the statistics are problematic because most Polish speakers possess German citizenship due to their status as German resettlers. In the Weststadt, he estimated the community to be stronger than the 500 listed Polish citizens in the city's statistics. The priest also told me that most members of his congregation were bilingual. Catholic religion classes were completely in Polish, however,

to offer children a chance to practice the language in a more formal setting than in families. Overall the priest conveyed a picture of a linguistically alive community: While a portion of older resettlers avoided speaking Polish because they used to be 'afraid' to use the language in Germany 40 years back, most members of the congregation today took pride in their language and actively spoke it at home.

My impressions from interacting with the Russian and Polish community can be summarized as follows. First, it seems that the use of languages in families and across congregations varies. Taken together with my own language background data (cf. Chapter 5) the role of German in all communities cannot be denied. A good example is the Baptist community where German is recently replacing Russian, according to the pastor. The Polish-Catholic community seems to be more resilient in its maintenance of Polish as a community and service language. However, I also met several mothers whose children no longer speak Polish. Assuming that these encounters were not all exceptions, I believe that German is influential in both the Russian and Polish community, while the latter is more actively bilingual in spite of the language not being taught at local schools. Another reason for Polish being more alive, is the relative geographical closeness to Poland, of course.

The type of German spoken in both communities is difficult to classify. It is clear though that most adults I observed showed morphosyntactic features that were discussed in prior chapters of this dissertation. The features also occur across generations, whereas the youngest generation exhibited the least features, as indicated by the fact that it was harder to find clear instances of features from Victor, Roman and Izabela.

It is also difficult to assess from my short visits how open or closed the communities are, socially speaking. Subjectively speaking, the Polish community seemed more open to an exchange with me than the Baptist church, but this could also be due to the way I spontaneously approached the Russian community. In any case it is certain that in order to preserve a certain cultural, religious or linguistic coherence, it is necessary to have regular members or customers. Both the Russian and Polish communities seem to be established enough with regard to members to have a certain degree of infrastructure: in both communities there is commerce and there are Russian and Polish-speaking people occupying paid positions to cater to their communities. It is not unlikely that Mr. Lehmann's and Torsten's observations are true: the investment people have to make to maintain their own community could lead to boundaries to other communities or individuals in one way or another. This does not even have to be intentional.

8.5 Consequences of Ethnography

8.3.1 Fine-Tuning Statistics

In a similar way to the Russian and Polish communities, we learned how the Turkish speaking community gradually established itself in the Nordstadt. The settlement of a number of families in the Karl-Schmidt-Straße in the 1970s, the founding of a mosque, the presence of shops, and the city youth club that catered specifically to the community all allowed for a coherent network of speakers over a long period of time. The former children

in the community (G1.5 and early G2) spoke Turkish at home and introduced German to the community mainly through school. As adults they now habitually code-switch between German and Turkish, as I witnessed countless times with Duygu, Özay, Ms. Çelik, Ms. Avcı and Ms. Başak. The Turkish-speaking students I observed are late G2 and early G3. German use in their families has increased drastically compared to the early days of immigration. The Russian-speaking informants tell a similar story.

While the in-group relations in all communities are undoubtedly changing (e.g. when young couples like Duygu and Özay leave the neighborhood) the social ties in the speaker groups seem to be more conservative than the rapid linguistic shift. It appears that it is a result that the linguistic variants of German spoken and passed on in the communities are further from the standard language taught in schools – albeit to different degrees with different speakers.

Chapter 6 and 7 suggest that the lexicon is an area particularly affected by these developments. The teachers also emphasized this in the interviews. Although the teachers also list non-standard morphosyntactic features as substantial problems for students, these features appeared to be few and far between in the video-retelling task. The predictor 'parents born abroad' made the best predictions over both, the lexical scope and the sum of non-standard features in students' speech. However, my ethnography suggests that 'parents born abroad' is only a cover term for something more fundamental going on. Rather than lumping all speakers with foreign born parents together, the analysis should heed the advice by Mr. Lehmann.

Mr. Lehmann suggested that members of absolute minorities, such as Julia with her Brazilian-Italian background or Yáng with her Chinese background, actually turn out to acquire near-Standard German linguistic practices quicker in the long run than members of larger minorities with strong in-group relations. Members of the Turkish and Tunisian community, the Russian speaking community, and the Polish speaking community have a different social and linguistic environment. It seems that 'networks' as a factor describing large minority membership could be a strong predictor. Testing this modification *post hoc*, I ran another linear regression model over students' count of pseudo-verbs from Chapter 6, separating children who are part of a large minority network, from those who are not. The astounding result is presented in Table 8.3, below.

Call: lm(formula = pseudoverbs ~ network, data = ps.verb2)

Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-8.8919	-4.3448	-0.1184	3.8581	12.1081

Coefficients:

	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)	14.8919	0.8709	17.099	< 2e-16 ***
networkyes	7.4529	1.3139	5.673	3.65e-07 ***

Signif. codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '. 0.1 ' ' 1

Residual standard error: 5.298 on 64 degrees of freedom
Multiple R-squared: 0.3346, Adjusted R-squared: 0.3242
F-statistic: 32.18 on 1 and 64 DF, p-value: 3.648e-07

Table 8.3: Summary of the network model for predicting the number of pseudoverbs

Separating students *by the factor 'network' alone* yields the best prediction this dissertation has made so far: only a single predictor (R= 0.324) can explain almost a third of the variation in the number of pseudoverbs resulting from the free-sorting test in Chapter 6. Recall that Chapter 6 needed three predictors to explain a lower proportion of variation (R=0.246). Differentiating results by network membership instead leads to a highly significant improvement. This *post hoc* result is an incentive for future research, because it shows that ethnography has the ability to fine-tune statistic tools, often in unanticipated ways. Ethnography alone, on the other hand, would not have been able to make any reliable predictions about the scope of children's motion verb lexicon in the two districts.

Whether the predictor 'network association' would also improve our understanding of the occurrence of non-standard morphosyntactic features is a question this dissertation cannot answer, because the networks of Russian and Polish speakers are not represented in the video-retelling data. It would not be surprising, however, if the findings of ethnography had similarly convincing effects on the analysis of morphosyntactic features commonly associated with the German multiethnolect. The next subsection discusses the consequences of ethnography for the remaining questions.

8.3.2 TRANSMISSION AND VERNACULARIZATION

Can feature transmission within the communities, from parent to child, actually be observed? Where do 'multiethnolect' features occur and perpetuate? Where are they most

alive? These were important questions I set out with. The fine-tuning of statistical tools showed that the observations on networks in the neighborhood have considerable weight. All schoolteachers, tutors and the language assistant of the preschool in the Weststadt also related that what they call 'broken German' is being passed on to children. During my observations, I tracked so-called 'multiethnolect' features in the speech of adults in the neighborhoods, albeit to different degrees. The adults came from all perceivable generations in the immigration process (G1, G1.5, G2). Mainly, they were Turkish-, Russian- and Polish-speaking. My observations and the interviews with professionals in schools and preschools of both districts suggest that feature transmission is not only a theoretical possibility, but is happening.

The linguistic input that children deal with was already suggested in Chapter 5: there are many different 'ideolects' or 'personal styles' of German that children in migrant families hear, as they grow up in the Nordstadt and the Weststadt. This variable input could explain some of the variation in the students' German. Another explanation for the presence of non-standard features at low levels could be deliberate register choices. Mr. Lehmann raised the issue of register differences that may be developing between the poles of school and the family. Standard German or a more formalized version of German would be reserved for the former, while non-standard versions of German would be more common in the latter. Dittmar (2013) also mentions these input factors in his analogy of the 'hybrid language shower'. Talia's use of the honorific with an omission of prepositions that I documented is an instance in which registers co-occured. Surely, Talia was 'stylizing' her

German when she spoke with me. However, the deliberate and stylized part of her utterance seemed to be the 'formal effort', and not the non-standard rendition of a locative NP.

Given the strong association researchers have created between the terms 'multiethnolect', 'youth language' and 'stylization', it would perhaps be better to speak of a 'vernacular' in the sense used by Rampton (2011), at this point. Rampton views stylization as an inseparable part of the larger phenomenon of multiethnolects, but is aware of a basis of routine usages that stretches across several generations in several neighborhoods of London. Viewing styles as crucial and inseparable elaborations on 'routine usages', as Rampton suggests, seems appropriate for the situation in Braunschweig's Weststadt and Nordstadt: in contrast to studies such as Auer (2003), Eksner (2006) Keim (2007) and Wiese (2009) that mainly focus on adolescents, there was no stylized way of speaking that warranted the label of a 'youth language' during my observations of children. However, *Ghettodeutsch* ('ghetto German') the way of speaking that Ms. Drobny, the tutor, referred to seems to be a stylized youth language. Its main differentiating features for the lay listener seem to be prosodic and phonetic. Its roots are very likely already present in the neighborhood.

Phonetic and prosodic features that are commonly attributed to multiethnolects also stood out to me, in particular, during my interaction with the adults of my own age (30+). Occasional stylizations were perceivable with Özay, his brother and Enisa, the best friend of my assistant, for instance. Yet again, this would present a case against the 'youth language' notion, because the age range of speakers that employ features associated with

the multiethnolect reaches from elementary school to adulthood. Such a broad base in terms of age renders the label 'youth language' obsolete.

The limitations for the occurrence of non-standard features appear to be not rooted in age, but in network membership. This became clear through the network analysis but also through interviews, and the effect of the factor on regression analysis, demonstrated above. The social fabric of both districts reflects migration histories but also ethnic boundaries that may be partially cemented as groups struggle to maintain their identity in the majority culture.

As a consequence of these findings, Wiese's (2012) claim that speaker origins do not matter for the use of a new 'dialect' called Kiezdeutsch is not tenable in Braunschweig – and possibly in other cities in Germany of the same size and with similar proportions of immigrated groups. There are speaker networks and differences between those networks in the Nordstadt, for instance, and very likely also in the Weststadt. Orientations towards the own group are not limited to Turkish speakers, but hold for Eastern Europeans as well. Religion seems to play a crucial role for the non-autochthonous communities, as a center of identity. Religious affiliation is not explicitly mentioned in the studies in Chapter 3 (e.g. Auer 2003, Dirim & Auer 2004, Kern & Selting 2006, and Keim 2007). These studies nevertheless saw Turkish speakers as the 'originators' of multiethnolect speech practices.

My study would suggest that multiethnolect practices can originate in any speaker network that is tight-knit enough. Outside school, religious groups may provide the close, social interactions that speakers seek. But any established group network shifting from a

heritage language to German could have similar effects. The mass arrival of Syrians in Germany these days will offer opportunities to study similar processes in another group that can potentially establish in-group relations.

This brings us to the cause of such in-group relations. Viewing migrant group membership as the *ultimate* reason for non-standard ways of speaking, would be an oversimplification. Group orientations are a result of historical processes that were laid out in Chapter 2: the treatment of migrants by majority society has an effect on group decisions. It could be the main cause for strong in-group orientations to begin with. Many studies in Chapter 4 suggest that linguistic isolation went hand in hand with social isolation from the majority society. In this light, multiethnolectal features could be seen as the result of political decisions.

The effects of political decisions can potentially live on in schools. In the Siegfriedviertel it appeared that the existing social separation between ethnically Turkish and non-Turkish students intensified through the school change and a lack of accommodations students experienced at the NSE. The secondary school in the Weststadt seemed more aware of these necessities, and appeared successful in partially breaking up ethnic lines. However, long-term observations by Mr. Lehmann and a seasoned social worker spoke to a reality of group-relatedness returning to the Weststadt as well. The final subsection of this chapter will discuss ways in which to deal with the present situation in schools.

8.3.3 'MULTIETHNOLECTS' AND SCHOOL

Teachers and pedagogues that are embedded particularly well in the communities recognize a strong role of German in families – even if the German vernaculars there are non-standard. This view coincides with the questionnaire results in Chapter 5. However, there are also some teachers that believe that heritage languages are more prevalent in homes. Table 8.4, below, contains some revelatory information with regard to these different views: it categorizes teachers by their number of years in the area, their migration background, whether or not they ever visited a migrant family and how they describe the linguistic environment of speakers.

Teacher/Tutor:	Number of Years in the Area:	Migration Background:	Visited a child's family, has insight into families:	Describes families as monolingual in heritage language:	Describes processes of feature transmission:
Ms. M (PS-NS)	18	no	no	mostly	some
Ms. N (PS-NS)	2	no	no	mostly	no
Ms. A (NSE)	34	Turkish	yes	no	yes
Ms. B (NSE)	2	Turkish	yes	no	yes
Ms. C (NSE)	26	Turkish	yes	no	yes
Ms. D (NSE)	recent	Polish	no	mostly not	yes
Ms. Y (NSE)	recent	Russian	no	mostly not	-
Ms. O (PS-NS)	-	no	no	some	some
Ms. P (PS-NS)	24	no	no	some	some
Ms. R (PS-NS)	2	no	no	some	yes
Mr. L (WS-IGS)	32	Hung.-Germ. resettler (G1.5)	yes	mostly not	yes
Ms. S (WS-IGS)	4	Serbian	no	some	yes

Table 8.4: Teachers' relationship to the neighborhood and related assumptions.

It turns out, that the only two descriptions of multilingual migrant families as predominantly monolingual in the heritage language come from preschool teachers who never set foot in immigrant homes. Overall, preschool teachers (shaded) are also less willing to explain the differences in children's German with feature transmission (although they also describe the phenomenon). At the same time, none of them deals with a multilingual environment in their own home. This might explain the different perceptions with regard to the role of heritage languages in immigrant homes.

Having teachers who can relate to migrant families and are embedded in the neighborhood is not only important to create a welcoming environment for students of diverse backgrounds. The presence of staff members with migration backgrounds appears to be crucial with regard to better understanding children's language environment. In the U.S., there are similar discussions that are worth comparing to the German context.

In her essay *The Silenced Dialogue: Power and Pedagogy in Educating Other People's Children*, Delpit (1988) discusses the power relationship between white teachers and children of color in American schools. Delpit examines underlying cultural assumptions by European American teachers that foster failure among African American students, in particular. Her conclusion is that educators are particularly dangerous for minority students if they fail to admit the given power imbalance they operate in. If teachers are unaware of the situation of their own students, they pave detrimental academic careers for their students. This point is particularly important for language education. A few years before Delpit's work, Heath's (1982) *What no bedtime story means* described radically different

reading practices in a white middle class, a white working class and a black working class community, based on alternate patterns of using reading materials and language. These differences have strong implications for school readiness. During my observations, Ms. Çelik and Ms. Setzer mentioned the lack of reading practices in certain homes as a crucial difference between students with and without migration backgrounds. Employing more teachers with a migrant background who successfully navigated the German education system, but are familiar with students' linguistic points of departure, is crucial in the quest of integrating these students into Germany's schools.

Teachers without a connection to their students' linguistic upbringing also run the risk of underestimating the emotional ties students hold to their first-acquired vernacular and/or heritage language. Ammon (1972:142) discussed the problems teachers faced with German dialect speakers in the 1960s and 1970s. When teaching the standard without consideration of linguistic backgrounds and without questioning the language ideologies involved, stigmatizing non-standard ways of speaking and creating inhibitions is almost inevitable. Delpit's (2002:41) more recent point that 'every feature of Krashen's affective filter is in place in the school's attempt to 'teach' the standard dialect' is well made. There is no motivation to learn the language of a person who is ignorant of one's culture, language and experience (cf. Cummins 1996:2f). Moreover, as Smitherman (1998:99) puts it, the concept of '*Mother* tongue' deserves thought: if language is acquired by transmission from parents, criticizing students' language, in fact, turns into direct criticism of the home of students.

The effect of withdrawal is conceivable, with continuing social and linguistic isolation being the result.

The contrary should be the case. While Standard German is indispensible for students in order to successfully operate in German society, vernaculars and heritage languages have a place in schools. Besides recess time and after school language instruction, they can be deliberately engaged to create an atmosphere of mutual interest in class or to accommodate students with linguistic difficulties. Contrastive grammar lessons, as suggested by Ammon (1972:142f) early on, for instance, would give students a better orientation than simple corrections of their 'mistakes'. Having a more diverse body of teachers at schools with different background is a first step towards creating these pedagogical interventions. The next chapter concludes this dissertation with a summary, the concluding answers to the research questions and an outlook on future research.

PART IV: CONCLUSION

9. NEW UNDERSTANDINGS, NEW OPPORTUNITIES

9.1 Summary of Chapters

This dissertation began with three questions that are often neglected in research on so-called 'multiethnolects:'

i. Do multiethnolects receive some of their characteristic features by transmission from caregivers to children?
ii. If so, who exactly exhibits such features before adolescence? Who are the 'original' speakers, so to speak?
iii. What are the best social and linguistic predictors for multiethnolect features?

Taken together, these questions address the broader question of the social and linguistic 'roots' of multiethnolects, which cannot be answered by examining only the present. A look into the past is crucial, both from a political and from a linguistic perspective. Linguistically, focusing on features of phonology and morphosyntax, as many studies of the German multiethnolect do, is a perfunctory short cut (cf. Chapter 3). It is impossible to know whether multiethnolects are more than a choice from speakers' linguistic reperoire if the way speakers assign meaning in German is excluded from examination. To understand the phenomenon in its depth, lexical-semantic phenomena must be included as well.

Following the introduction in Chapter 1, Part II of this dissertation provided the historical background to the research endeavor. Chapter 2 offered a basic overview of

German political decisions that influenced the course of migration and thereby led to the emergence of non-standard ways of speaking German. The country's legacy of defining citizens through *ius sanguinis* brought about a refusal to see immigration as an ongoing process, resulting in both a degree of educational and social isolation of immigrant groups and an increasingly hostile environment towards immigrants in the 1990s. This could partly explain the strong in-group orientations that exist in several migrant communities in Germany today. As the societal and political climate improved, young people with hybrid biographies expressed that they feel both locally German but still identified as 'other', nationally speaking. This has only recently been changing.

Chapters 3 surveyed many studies on multiethnolects in the past decade, summarizing the social contexts and features in which the phenomena are said to occur. Chapter 4 compared the findings with studies from the late 1960s up to the mid-1990s. The results show that there are many commonalities across decades and that the discipline's history alone contradicts the portrayal of multiethnolects as a completely new phenomenon. Rather, the discipline paused its research efforts in the 1990s, before its interest radically shifted from children to adolescents in the early 2000s. Claims emerging at the same time include that (multi)ethnolects are not a result of feature transmission, that only adolescents speak this way and that most immigrant families continue to speak the parents' language at home. However, these claims turn out to be questionable. In addition, many studies assume the phenomenon to be mainly rooted in the Turkish community. Hardly any studies deal with the numerous resettlers from Eastern Europe that arrived in Germany in the early 1990s.

In Part III of this dissertation, I developed new proposals for how multiethnolect research could be approached differently. In four connected studies I laid out a bottom-up analysis of the phenomenon that draws on sociolinguistic, experimental and ethnographic methods. In Chapter 5, I pointed to koineization as a way of reinterpreting the origin of so-called multiethnolects. Feature transmission from multiple sources could explain the degree of variation in young speakers' repertoires. To better gauge the influences at work, it is necessary to collect extensive background data from speakers, including data on the language environment. I did this by interviewing 10-11 year old children in generation 2 (G2) with 16 heritage languages, including 17 Turkish, 6 Polish and 5 Russian speakers. The children attended two elementary schools in two districts of Braunschweig in 2012. The choice of this group at the same time could reveal whether the claim of a 'youth language', in a strict sense, is actually tenable.

The answers of students with regard to their linguistic environment in the home and neighborhood suggest that all children of migrant background live in a reality in which heritage languages are present, but speaking some variety of German is the norm (albeit most likely not Standard German). In contrast to Hinnenkamp's (2005) analysis, code-switching is said to be more prevalent in communication with the parent generation than among siblings, according to my participants. This apparent contrast could simply be a result of the gradual shift of communication practices in the community towards using more German than heritage languages.

Based on the preliminary insights from chapter 5, I suggested six predictors that can be applied to linguistic features in regression analysis: (i) the district of a speaker, (ii) the language students considered dominant (German or parent language), (iii) the language

students considered dominant in their immediate environment (German or heritage language), (iv) the background of parents (German-born or born abroad), (v) the Turkish speaker network (being part of it or not), and (vi) the gender of speakers. By running a lexical sorting task of German motion verbs with 66 students, I attempted to extract and analyze non-standard characteristics of speakers' lexicon. Cluster analysis helped visualize the results. I eventually built regression models over the number of words students claimed not to know, and over a recurrent sorting cluster in which *kommen* 'to come' and *schleichen* ' to sneak' appeared together (ks-cluster). Regression analysis revealed that having 'parents born abroad', being from the Weststadt and being a Turkish speaker best predicted that a speaker knew fewer motion verbs. Being a Turkish speaker also was the single best predictor of the ks-cluster. A feedback session with students suggested a few possible explanations for odd clusters such as the ks-pattern. One suggestion could be a perceived directionality in the meaning of the verb *schleichen* 'to sneak' itself. Another possibility could be that the verb originally was *anschleichen* 'to sneak up' and the prefix was omitted. Other clusters that seem non-standard, such as the association of *bummeln* 'to saunter' and *rollen* 'to roll', could be results of a general insecurity: children sometimes do not seem to have a clear meaning attached to certain words.

The same predictors used in Chapter 6 were then applied to morphosyntactic features in Chapter 7. A video-retelling task uncovered the marginal occurrence of morphosyntactic features in 38 students' video descriptions. Nevertheless, complex factor-feature relationships can be traced: the more non-standard morphosyntactic features a child showed in its German, the more likely the child had parents that were born abroad. Variation of the three most common features highlighted that each feature can itself be

related to differing factors: While the replacement of datives with accusatives and variation in grammatical gender are likely related to the parents' background, the presence omission of articles was best predicted by the district and gender of speakers. The language environment may also account for the extent of gender variation.

Granted that the features count was overall low, a preliminary picture of order nonetheless emerges when relating the findings of Chapter 7 to those of Chapter 6. The relationships between features across language levels and feature types do not point to a random distribution, but to order and structure: the sum of morphosyntactic features stands in a statistically significant correlation with the number of pseudo-verbs a speaker perceived in the sorting task. Both feature types are related to having migrant parents. The most frequent morphosyntactic features also co-occur with each other *and* with the semantic features. The feature of omissions is overall not as common as often assumed, and some omissions are more frequent than others. Very likely they lend themselves to different degrees for deliberate stylization for this reason.

To better envision what these rather abstract findings mean on the ground, in the neighborhoods and lives of my participants, and in order to fine-tune the answers this dissertation gives to its initial questions, Chapter 8 rounded off Part III with ethnographic insights. Participant observation and interviews with social key figures who are close to the participants eventually lead me to reinterpret what the initially chosen independent variables might mean: The factor 'speaking Turkish' could extend beyond the Turkish community into the Tunesian community, due to historic community ties. 'Parents born abroad' is likely a cover term for parents from large ethnic groups with fairly strong relations within the group, namely the Turkish (and Tunisian), Polish and Russian

communities. Fine-tuning the factor with help of this new definition leads to a surprising improvement in the predictions we can make about the number of words perceived as inexistent in Chapter 6, for instance. The chapter concludes with the suggestion that there actually is feature transmission in certain speaker networks, leading to first-acquired nonstandard vernaculars of German. Certain students navigate the school system with a repertoire that builds on in these vernaculars. Hence, educational interventions are important. However, they must be mindful of student sentiments towards their heritage. Embracing diversity at the level of school faculty is a crucial step forward in the process of developing pedagogic responses.

9.2 Concluding Answers

The following conclusions can now be drawn with regard to the original research questions.

ad (i): We know from the studies discussed in Chapter 3 that non-standard features have taken on a life of their own in broader German society (cf. Auer 2003, Dirim & Auer 2004, Wiese 2012; more recently, Marrosek 2013). Transmission is clearly not the main way by which features proliferate beyond the context of migrant communities. However, all observations and statistical indications point to the fact that transmission is most likely happening, albeit in a very individualized fashion with several social factors involved. Language shift in the communities, along with the degree of social isolation, very likely determine how feature transmission takes place and how it will continue in the future.

ad (ii): Studies of multiethnolects have suggested that the features are particularly prominent among youth in large German cities. The present dissertation adds that children

exhibit similar features that are later confirmed in multiethnolects. Albeit at low rates, morphosyntactic features associated with multiethnolects occur in the interviews and tests we conducted with children. Generally, morphosyntactic features are appear to be related to semantic findings: in particular, the scope of the lexicon stands out as a potential part of what is later termed a multiethnolect. It stands in a significant relationship with the sum of features that speakers' exhibit. Because the assignment of meaning cannot be easily influenced by mere stylization, parallel findings on lexical scope and structure can be seen as indicators of non-standard vernacular backgrounds, meaning that certain speakers' first-acquired and immediate way of speaking is marked by the multiethnolect features in question.

Although nothing currently suggests that the differences discovered between speakers with and without migration background in childhood have to carry forward through puberty, my findings do give reason to distinguish 'original' speakers of multiethnolectal ways of speaking from later 'accommodators' into such ways of speaking. Besides the statistical results, ethnographic observations suggest that the first users of multiethnolect features in childhood are located in large speaker networks with a strong in-group orientation, such as the Turkish (and Tunisian), Russian, and Polish communities. Future quantitative work should further examine this relationship more closely. Another interesting question this dissertation was not able to answer was at what age stylization of formerly vernacular forms actually picks up. When exactly do speakers turn linguistic markers into stereotypes? And is it really the 'original' users of these features who do so?

ad (iii): It was a task of its own to establish, test and refine the social and linguistic predictors employed in this dissertation. During the tests conducted and presented in

Chapters 6 and 7, the factors 'parents born abroad', 'district', 'speaking Turkish' were the most powerful predictors of features, commonly associated with multiethnolects. These three predictors need to be modified in future research, however. They translate into 'being part of a large speaker-network with in-group orientation', 'living in the socio-economically lower Weststadt or the socio-economically more stable Nordstadt', and 'standing in a present or historic relationship with the Turkish-speaking community'. Growing up in an environment in which a language other than German dominates may also contribute to certain non-standard features by way of language contact. Factors based on students' subjective assessment of their language environment, however, are not so important. This could be due to the subjective nature of the elicitation method of the values, or it could reflect a reality in which languages besides German are losing ground. Such questions are the basis for future research endeavors, discussed in the next section.

9.3 Future Research

This dissertation opened the door for several new research endeavors related not only to research on multiethnolects, but to language contact research more generally speaking. With regard to language contact, the project took Thomason & Kaufman's (1988) metaphor of 'language as a forest' very seriously. Instead of focusing only on one set of features, such as phonological or morphosyntactic features that are often discussed in previous studies of multiethnolects, a study of a subset of speakers' German lexicon was included. Language contact research could tremendously benefit from the study of semantic change (cf. also Huenlich forthcoming). The exploration of spoken language corpora, such as the

Kiezdeutsch Corpus, by Woerfel (2011) and Goschler et al. (2013) is a first step in this direction, and the free-sorting method, as laid out in Chapter 6 of this dissertation and in Huenlich (2015) is another method that can be applied to the realm of lexical studies. Future research should enhance these methods and introduce new ways of tackling the elusive problem of semantic change. This dissertation also speaks to a need to curate further large corpora which are more balanced with regard to age groups, and go beyond the focus on adolescents.

With regard to research on multiethnolects more generally speaking, it became clear that a quantification of the language background is crucial for statistical approaches to the phenomenon to be viable. Surely, the methods of quantification used in this dissertation can be vastly improved. Basing them on grounds that are less subjective and less centered on the speaker's own assessment will be one way of doing so. While improvable, the past chapters offered an impression, however, of how the analysis of quantitative data in multiethnolect research can benefit from ethnography and vice versa. This dissertation lays the basis for future work in this direction.

The variationist analysis of morphosyntactic features in this dissertation also underlined that 'multiethnolects' are in no way a clear-cut phenomenon. While there is little doubt left that we are dealing with more than only stylistic expressions of adolescents, Chapter 7 showed there is a continuum of feature frequency in speakers' German and there is a continuum of speakers who employ the features. At the same time, there are implicational tendencies between features. Recently, researchers in the field have been reconsidering the use of essentializing terminology for these reasons (cf. Cheshire et al. 2015): rather than fostering understanding, the term 'multiethnolect' appears to have

adverse effects on the public debate in many countries, because it creates boundaries where they are linguistically actually more fluid.

Fluidity does not, however, call into question the possibility of statistically founded explanations, as this dissertation has shown. When enriched with ethnographic observations, models can produce information value that ethnography alone is unlikely to offer. Future research in other European contexts should therefore expand on critiquing and decomposing the idea of 'multiethnolects' in favor of a statistically grounded *and* ethnographically valid descriptions of the phenomenon as it occurs in different countries. One method must not exclude the other. As predicted by Bloemmart (2010) and Bloemmart & Rampton (2011), the task will not get easier: massive flows of immigration to countries like Germany in recent months add layers of complexity to the process that will quickly make many particular results of this dissertation obsolete. Nevertheless, general trends can be distilled, and a multifaceted methodological tool set is crucial if a better understanding of these trends should emerge. Future research should not shy away from employing multiple methods, although combining methods presents many challenges.

One major issue connected to research on language acquisition in immigrant neighborhoods of Europe became very explicit throughout this dissertation: the realm of education is inseparable from understanding the social evaluation of multiethnolect phenomena. Nearly every step of analysis in this dissertation was shadowed by a comparison with 'the standard language'. Ignoring Standard German in the context of multiethnolects would be tantamount to ignoring the social reality migrants deal with in Germany, and in most European countries. Standard German is not only a reference point in school, but also in most official dealings between migrants and the state, all official

written matters, most audiovisual media, technical instructions, interactions with employers etc. ‘Good German’ is not equivalent to ‘Standard German’ in all contexts, but ‘Standard German’ – as evasive as its definitions might be – is often the reference point of qualitative judgments. Finally, Standard German is the goal towards which tutored language learners of German are guided deliberately every day. Although learners have numerous encounters with social evaluation outside of school, the most explicit context in which speakers of non-standard varieties receive feedback is when teachers evaluate their students’ linguistic abilities and provide feedback through grades. For this reason the relationship between speakers’ school experiences, academic careers and the evaluation of their non-standard vernaculars is in need of scrutiny. The best pedagogic responses will be based on the deepest understanding of speakers and their linguistic situation.

Appendix A: Elicitation of Consent

The following pages contain letters of informed consent, assent forms and consent forms approved by The University of Texas at Austin IRB for study 2012-05-0055 'An Investigation of Verbal Event Structure in Urban Ethnolects spoken at German Schools' and for study 2013-04-0151 'Who speaks the Ethnolect?'. Both studies have expired and will not be reactivated. The following Table provides an overview of the documents.

Document Type:	Document Number and Title:
Informed Consent Letter for study **2012**-05-0055:	1. Informationen zur Teilnahme der 4. Klassen an einer Studie
	2. Translation of the informed consent letter
Informed Consent Letter for study **2013**-04-0151:	3. Informationen zur Teilnahme an einer Sprachstudie mit Videoaufnahme (parental consent)
	4. Information concerning Participation in a Language Study with a video recording (parental consent)
Assent Form for study **2013**-04-0151:	5. Oral Assent for Participation in Video Classification Task
Informed Consent Letter for study **2013**-04-0151:	6. Informationen zur Teilnahme an einem Interview zu einer Sprachstudie (social key figures)
	7. Information concerning Participation in an Interview related to a Language Study (social key figures)
Informed Consent Letter for study **2013**-04-0151:	8. Informationen zur Teilnahme an einem Interview und Spiel zu einer Sprachstudie (parents & families)
	9. Information concerning Participation in an Interview and a Game related to a Language Study (parents & families)
Informed Consent Letter for study **2013**-04-0151:	10. Teilnahme an einem Interview zu einer Sprachstudie (teachers)
	11. Participation in an Interview Related to a Language Study (teachers)
Consent Form for study **2013**-04-0151:	12. Consent for Participation in Video-Recorded Interview (parents, teachers, social key figures

Informed consent letter (German original) – Page 1:

Informationen zur Teilnahme der 4. Klassen an einer Studie

Liebe Eltern der 4. Klassen,

für eine Studie zu seiner Doktorarbeit an der Universität Austin in Texas wird ein Sprachforscher im Juni in den vierten Klassen unserer Schule sein, um mit den Schülern einen spielerischen Sprachtest durchzuführen. Alles ist selbstverständlich absolut anonym und freiwillig.

Bitte wenden Sie sich, bei eventuellen Fragen an die Schulleitung. Zum Zeitpunkt der Studie haben die Kinder ihre Zeugnisse und Gutachten bereits erhalten und müssen auch keine Klassenarbeiten mehr schreiben. So könnten diese spielerischen Stunden eine willkommene Abwechslung sein.

Mit freundlichem Gruß,

Wer kommt zu uns?
David Hünlich ist ein Promotionsstudent an der Universität von Texas in Austin. Er ist bei Nürnberg in Deutschland aufgewachsen und studiert in den USA. In seiner Studie erforscht er wie Kinder aus unterschiedlichen Nachbarschaften in Braunschweig mit deutschen Wörtern umgehen. Er möchte gerne mit den drei 4. Klassen an unserer Schule arbeiten.

Was macht der Forscher genau?
Nach einer kurzen anonymen Umfrage sortieren die Kinder auf ihrem Schultisch ein Wortfeld. Das ganze dauert eine Schulstunde.

Was machen die Lehrer?
Während der Studie werden die Lehrer immer in der Nähe sein und zuschauen.

Gibt David Hünlich den Kindern Noten?
David Hünlich wird niemandem Noten geben. Er ist kein Lehrer.

Wie wird die Privatsphäre geschützt?
Alle Daten werden anonym gehalten. Die Namen der Kinder werden nicht aufgezeichnet. Alle Ergebnisse werden mit Nummern abfotografiert und alle Fragebögen sind auch nur durch eine Nummer gekennzeichnet.

Wenn ich nicht will, dass mein Kind gefilmt wird?
Wenn Sie trotzdem nicht wollen, dass ihr Kind mitmacht, teilen Sie es bitte kurz der Schulleitung mit. Ihr Kind wird dann von der Studie ausgeschlossen. Dies hat keinerlei Konsequenzen für Sie oder ihr Kind.

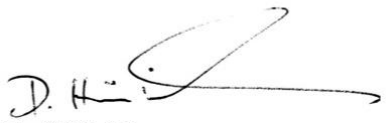
Muss mein Kind an der Studie teilnehmen?
Nein, es ist freiwillig. Wenn ihr Kind nicht mitmachen will, bekommt es andere Aufgaben von der Lehrerin. Ihre Erlaubnis dient nicht als Ersatz für das Einverständnis des Kindes.

Gibt es ein Risiko bei dieser Studie?
Es gibt keine vorhersehbaren Risiken bei Teilnahme an dieser Studie.

Informed consent letter (German original) – Page 2:

Was sind die Vorteile dieser Studie?
Es gibt kein Geld für diese Studie. Allerdings werden die Lehrer die Ergebnisse sehen und können dann eventuell bei Bedarf einzelnen Schülern Empfehlungen geben.

Wen kann ich kontaktieren, wenn ich Fragen zur Studie habe?
Sie können den Forscher ***David Hünlich*** *unter seiner Mailadresse david.huenlich@gmail.com erreichen. Er beantwortet Ihre Fragen gerne und jederzeit! Sie können auch die Abteilung für Forschungsunterstützung der Universität in Texas direkt kontaktieren orsc@uts.cc.utexas.edu.*



David Hünlich

Informed consent letter (English translation) – Page 1:

Translation of the informed consent letter.

Dear Parents of the 4th grades!

for a study connected to his dissertation at the University of Texas at Austin a language researcher will be in the 4th grades of our school in June, in order to conduct a playful language test with students. Everything is anonymous and voluntary, of course.

Should you have any questions please contact the school principle. At the point of the study, children will already have received their report cards and recommendations and do not have to write class tests anymore. For this reason, the rather playful hours can be a welcome change.

Best regards,

Who is visiting us?
David Hünlich is a doctoral student at the University of Texas at Austin. He grew up in Nuremberg, here in Germany, and is studying in the U.S. In his study he is investigating how children from different neighborhoods of Braunschweig deal with German words. He would like to work with the three fourth grade level classes at our school.

What exactly will the researcher do?
The whole class will take part in a short anonymous survey.The experiment consists of grouping word meanings at their school table. The experiment takes a school hour.

What will the teachers do?
During the study teachers will always be close to the students and watch them.

Will Mr. Hünlich give out grades?
There will be no grades by Mr. Hünlich. He is not a teacher.

How will our private sphere be protected?
All data will be kept anonymous. The names of children will not be recorded. All results will be fotographed with a number and all questionaires are also marked with a number, only.

What if I do not want my child to take part?
If you still do not want your child to take part, please tell the principals office directly. Your child will then be excluded from the study. Not participating in the study has no consequences for you or your child.

Does my child have to participate in this study?
No. Participation is voluntary. If your child does not want to participate, the teacher will give the child another task. Your permission does not replace your child's consent.

What are the risks involved in this study?
There are no foreseeable risks to participating in this study.

What are the benefits of this study?

Informed consent letter (English translation) – Page 2:

There is no payment for this study.

Who can I contact with questions about the study?
You can contact David Hünlich by sending an email to ***david.huenlich@gmail.com.*** *He will answer your questions about the study gladly and anytime! You can also directly contact the Office of Research at the University of Texas with your questions: orsc@uts.cc.utexas.edu.*

Signature David Hünlich

Consent form for video recording (German original) – Page 1:

Informationen zur Teilnahme an einer Sprachstudie mit Videoaufnahme

Liebe Eltern,

für eine Studie zu seiner Doktorarbeit an der Universität Austin in Texas wird ein Sprachforscher im Juni an unserer Schule sein, um mit einzelnen Schülern einen Sprachtest durchzuführen. Alles ist selbstverständlich absolut anonym und freiwillig. Manche Schüler kennen Herrn Hünlich bereits vom letzten Jahr als er in der Grundschule Rheinring geforscht hat. Wenn Sie Fragen zur Studie haben, wenden Sie sich bitte direkt an die Klassenleiter oder an den Forscher (siehe unten). Lesen Sie bitte die untenstehenden Informationen.

Mit freundlichem Gruß,

Wer kommt zu uns?
David Hünlich ist ein Promotionsstudent an der Universität von Texas in Austin. Er ist bei Nürnberg in Deutschland aufgewachsen und studiert in den USA. In seiner Studie erforscht er wie Kinder aus unterschiedlichen Nachbarschaften in Braunschweig mit deutschen Wörtern umgehen. Er möchte gerne mit einzelnen Schülern an unserer Schule arbeiten, die ihn bereits vom letzten Jahr kennen.

Was macht der Forscher genau?
Die Kinder beschreiben mehrere kurze Videoclips. Die Beschreibungen werden mit der Videokamera aufgenommen. Das ganze dauert 30 Minuten.

Wird Herr Hünlich Noten vergeben?
Herr Hünlich vergibt keine Noten. Er ist kein Lehrer.

Videoaufnahme: Wie wird unsere Privatsphäre geschützt?
Alle Kinder, die bei dieser Studie mitmachen, werden bei der Teilnahme gefilmt. Das ist notwendig, weil David Hünlich sonst die Aufnahmen nicht auswerten kann. Er kann sich natürlich nicht alles merken, was die Kinder sagen. Aber Namen der Kinder werden nicht aufgenommen und ihre Gesichter werden Dritten, die mit der Studie nichts zu tun haben, nicht gezeigt. Die Daten werden sicher weggesperrt und bleiben bei David Hünlich an seiner Universität bis sie nicht mehr gebraucht werden. Dann werden sie gelöscht.

Was wenn ich nicht will, dass mein Kind gefilmt wird oder mitmacht?
Wenn Sie nicht wollen, dass ihr Kind mitmacht oder gefilmt wird, teilen Sie es bitte einfach kurz der Klassenleitung oder Schulleitung mit. Ihr Kind wird dann von der Studie ausgeschlossen. Dies hat keinerlei Konsequenzen für Sie oder ihr Kind.

Muss mein Kind an der Studie teilnehmen?
Nein, es ist freiwillig. Wenn ihr Kind nicht mitmachen will, muss es nicht. Ihre Erlaubnis dient nicht als Ersatz für das Einverständnis des Kindes. Es wird vorher nochmals gefragt, ob es mitmachen will. Ob ihr Kind Lust hat mitzumachen oder nicht, hat keinerlei Konsequenzen für Sie oder ihr Kind.

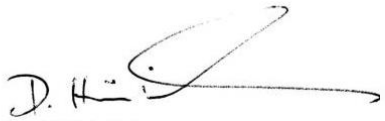
Gibt es ein Risiko bei dieser Studie?
Es gibt keine vorhersehbaren Risiken bei Teilnahme an dieser Studie.

Was sind die Vorteile dieser Studie?
Es gibt kein Geld für diese Studie.

Wen kann ich kontaktieren, wenn ich Fragen zur Studie habe?

Consent form for video recording (German original) – Page 2:

*Sie können den Forscher **David Hünlich** unter seiner Mailadresse david.huenlich@gmail.com erreichen. Er beantwortet Ihre Fragen gerne und jederzeit! Sie können auch die Abteilung für Forschungsunterstützung der Universität in Texas direkt kontaktieren orsc@uts.cc.utexas.edu.*



David Hünlich

Consent form for video recording (English translation) – Page 1:

Informationen zur Teilnahme an einer Sprachstudie mit Videoaufnahme

Dear Parents,

for a study connected to his dissertation at the University of Texas at Austin a language researcher will be at our school in June, in order to conduct a language test with individual students. Everything is anonymous and voluntary, of course. Some students already know Mr. Hünlich from last year, when he conducted research at the Rheinring elementary school. If you have questions concerning the study please directly contact the class teacher or the researcher (see below). Please read the information below.

With best regards,

Who is visiting us?
David Hünlich is a doctoral student at the University of Texas at Austin. He grew up in Nuremberg, here in Germany, and is studying in the U.S. In his study he is investigating how children from different neighborhoods of Braunschweig deal with German words. He would like to work with individual students at our school that already know him from last year.

What exactly will the researcher do with children?
The children will describe several short videoclips. These descriptions will be videotaped. The procedure takes about 30 minutes.

Will Mr. Hünlich give out grades?
There will be no grades by Mr. Hünlich. He is not a teacher.

Video recording: how will our privacy be protected?
All children who participate will be filmed whole they solve the task. This is necessary, so that David Hünlich can evaluate the recordings later. Obviously, he cannot memorize all the answers of all children in this study. However, the names of children will not be recorded and the faces of the children will not be shown to foreigners who are not related to the study. All data will be securely locked away and stored with David Hünlich at his university until they are no longer needed. Then they will be deleted.

What if I do not want my child to be filmed or to take part?
If you still do not want your child to be filmed or to take part, please tell Frau Hoffmann or the principals office directly. Your child will then be excluded from the study. Not participating in the study has no consequences for you or your child.

Does my child have to participate in this study?
No. Participation is voluntary. If your child does not want to participate, the teacher will give the child another task. Your permission does not replace your child's consent. Not participating has no consequences for you or your child.

What are the risks involved in this study?
There are no foreseeable risks to participating in this study.

What are the benefits of this study?
There is no payment for this study.

Who can I contact with questions about the study?

You can contact David Hünlich by sending an email to ***david.huenlich@gmail.com.*** *He will answer your questions about the study gladly and anytime! You can also directly contact the Office of Research at the University of Texas with your questions: orsc@uts.cc.utexas.edu.*

Signature David Hünlich

Oral assent form – Page 1:

IRB USE ONLY
Study Number:
Approval Date:
Expires:

Oral Assent for Participation in Video Classification Task

Title: Who Speaks the Ethnolect? - Identifying Migrolect Variety Speakers in Neighborhoods of Braunschweig (Germany)

This statement is translated orally into German. The researcher will express himself in a language adequate to the age group of 10-13 year olds and adequate to the multiethnic research setting. The meaning of his oral information will exactly match the English content on this page.

Introduction
You have been asked to be in a research study about **word meanings**. This study was explained to your **parents in a letter** and they agreed that you could be in it if you want to. We are doing this study to **find out something about language in your neighborhood**.

What am I going to be asked to do?
If you agree to be in this study, you will be asked to

- **fill out a short survey/questionaire**
- **describe videos with a German motion verb you find adequate**
- **decide what other words may match the video well**

This study will take **thirty minutes school hour** and there will be 20 other people in this study.

What are the risks involved in this study?
There are no foreseeable risks to participating in this study.

Do I have to participate?
No, participation is voluntary. You should only be in the study if you want to. You can even decide you want to be in the study now, and change your mind later. No one will be upset.

Will I get anything to participate?
You will not receive any type of payment for participating in this study.

Who will know about my participation in this research study?
The records of this study will be kept private. Your responses may be used for a future study by these researchers or other researchers.

Informed consent letter (social key figures, German original) – Page 1:

Informationen zur Teilnahme an einem Interview zu einer Sprachstudie

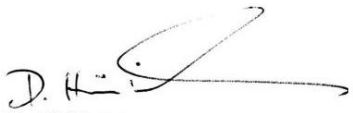
Liebe Bewohner der Braunschweiger Nordstadt/Weststadt,

für eine Studie zu meiner Doktorarbeit an der Universität Austin in Texas suche ich im Juni freiwillige und anonyme Interviewpartner. Ich suche vor allem

- Soziale Schlüsselfiguren der Nachbarschaft
- Eltern mehrsprachiger Familien, die gerne über die Sprachpraxis zu Hause sprechen.

Wichtige Informationen finden Sie unten. Bitte lesen Sie die Information bevor Sie sich entschließen teilzunehmen.

Mit freundlichem Gruß,



David Hünlich

Wer bin ich?
Ich bin ein Promotionsstudent an der Universität von Texas in Austin (USA). Ich bin bei Nürnberg in Deutschland aufgewachsen und studiere in den USA. In meiner Studie erforsche ich die Entwicklung der deutschen Sprache in zwei Nachbarschaften in Braunschweig.

Was macht man beim Interview genau?
Nach einer kurzen anonymen schriftlichen Umfrage, stelle ich einige Fragen zur Nachbarschaft, zu den Sprachgewohnheiten der Menschen und vor allem der Kinder. Die Interviews werden mit der Videokamera aufgenommen. Die Aufnahmen dauern ungefähr eine Stunde.

Wie wird meine Privatsphäre nach den Videoaufnahmen gewahrt?
Die Aufnahmen finden dort statt, wo es ihnen am besten erscheint. Daten werden ***vertraulich*** *gehandhabt. Die Namen meiner Informanten werden nicht aufgezeichnet. Die Interviewdaten werden* ***nicht öffentlich zugänglich*** *gemacht, es bleiben keine Kopien in Deutschland. Dritte können die Daten ohne Zustimmung nicht einsehen. Die Daten werden nach 10 Jahren vernichtet.*

Muss ich an der Studie teilnehmen, wenn ich angefangen habe?
Nein, es ist freiwillig. Wenn Sie sich entscheiden die Studie während dem Experiment zu unterbrechen oder abzubrechen, ist niemand verärgert.

Gibt es ein Risiko bei dieser Studie?
Es gibt keine vorhersehbaren Risiken bei Teilnahme an dieser Studie.

Was sind die Vorteile dieser Studie?
Es gibt kein Geld für diese Studie. Aber Sie helfen die Sprachdynamik Ihrer Nachbarschaft besser zu verstehen.

Wen kann ich kontaktieren, wenn ich Fragen zur Studie habe?
Sie können mich unter der Mailadresse david.huenlich@gmail.com erreichen. Ich beantworte Ihre Fragen gerne und jederzeit!
Sie können auch die Abteilung für Forschungsunterstützung der Universität in Texas direkt kontaktieren orsc@uts.cc.utexas.edu

Informed consent letter (social key figures, English translation) – Page 1:

Information Concerning Participation in an Interview Related to a Language Study

Dear inhabitants of Braunschweig's Nordstadt/Weststadt,

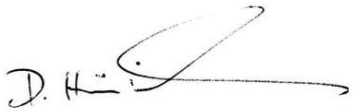
for a study connected to my dissertation at the University of Texas at Austin, I am looking for voluntary and anonymous interview partners in June.

In particular, I am looking for

- social key figures in the neighborhood
- parents of multilingual families that feel comfortable speaking about their speech practices at home.

Please find important information below. Please read the information befor you decide to participate..

With best regards,



David Hünlich

Who am I?
I am a doctoral student at the University of Texas at Austin (USA). I grew up in Nuremberg, here in Germany, and am studying in the U.S. In my study I am investigating the development of the German language in two neighborhoods of Braunschweig.

What exactly will happen during the interview?
After a short anonymous background questionaire in writing, I will ask a few questions about the neighborhood, the speech habits of people and children in particular. The interviews will be recorded with a video camera. The procedure takes about an hour.

How will my private sphere be protected during the video recording?
The recordings will take place where it seems best to you. Data will be kept ***confidential****. The names of informants are not recorded. The interview data will* ***not be publically accessible****, there will be no copies remaining in Germany. Third parties cannot access the data without permission. Data will be destroyed after ten years.*

Do I have to participate in the study once I started?
No. It is completely voluntary. If you decide to interrupt or cancel you participation during the experiment, noone will be upset.

What are the risks involved in this study?
There are no foreseeable risks to participating in this study.

What are the advantages of this study?
There is no money for this study. But you are helping me better understand the language dynamics of your neighborhood.

Who can I contact with questions about the study?
You can contact me by sending an email to david.huenlich@gmail.com. I will answer your questions about the study gladly and anytime! You can also directly contact the Office of Research at the University of Texas with your questions: orsc@uts.cc.utexas.edu.

Informed consent letter (parents, German original) – Page 1:

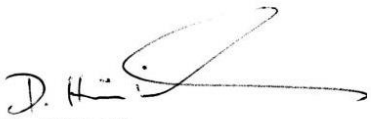
Informationen zur Teilnahme an einem Interview und Spiel zu einer Sprachstudie

Liebe Familien der Braunschweiger Nordstadt/Weststadt,

für eine Studie zu meiner Doktorarbeit an der Universität Austin in Texas suche ich im Juni Familien, die bei einem Interview und einem Spiel mitmachen. Die Teilnahme ist freiwillig und anonym. Ich suche vor allem Familien mit Kindern, die in den letzten 50 Jahren aus dem Ausland nach Braunschweig eingewandert sind. Der sprachliche Hintergrund außer deutsch kann russisch, türkisch, polnisch oder jede andere Sprache sein. Man muss nicht gut deutsch können!

Wichtige Informationen finden Sie unten. Bitte lesen Sie die Information bevor Sie sich entschließen teilzunehmen.

Mit freundlichem Gruß,



David Hünlich

Wer bin ich?
Ich bin ein Promotionsstudent an der Universität von Texas in Austin (USA). Ich bin bei Nürnberg in Deutschland aufgewachsen und studiere in den USA. In meiner Studie erforsche ich die Entwicklung der Sprache in zwei Nachbarschaften in Braunschweig.

Was machen wir genau?
- *Kinder interviewen ihre Eltern zu ihrer Einwanderungsgeschichte und zur Nachbarschaft.*
- *Danach spielt die ganze Familie ein Familienspiel an einem Tisch. Das Spiel wird gefilmt.*

Wie lange dauert es?
Es dauert ungefähr eine Stunde.

Wie wird meine Privatsphäre bei den Videoaufnahmen geschützt?
*Die Aufnahmen finden dort statt, wo es der Familie am besten erscheint. Daten werden **vertraulich** gehandhabt. Die Namen meiner Informanten werden nicht aufgezeichnet. Die Interviewdaten werden **nicht öffentlich zugänglich** gemacht, es bleiben keine Kopien in Deutschland. Dritte können die Daten ohne Zustimmung nicht einsehen. Die Daten werden nach 10 Jahren vernichtet.*

Müssen wir an der Studie teilnehmen, wenn wir angefangen haben?
Nein, es ist freiwillig. Ihre Familie kann jederzeit abbrechen und niemand nimmt Ihnen das übel.

Gibt es ein Risiko bei dieser Studie?
Es gibt keine vorhersehbaren Risiken bei Teilnahme an dieser Studie.

Was sind die Vorteile dieser Studie?
Es gibt kein Geld für die Teilnahme an dieser Studie. Aber Sie helfen mir die Dynamik der Sprachentwicklung in ihrer Nachbarschaft besser zu verstehen.

Wen kann ich kontaktieren, wenn ich Fragen zur Studie habe?
Sie können mich unter der Mailadresse david.huenlich@gmail.com erreichen. Ich beantworte Ihre Fragen gerne und jederzeit!
Sie können auch die Abteilung für Forschungsunterstützung der Universität in Texas direkt kontaktieren orsc@uts.cc.utexas.edu

Informed consent letter (parents, English translation) – Page 1:

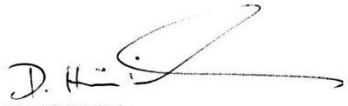
Information Concerning Participation in an Interview and a Game Related to a Language Study

Dear Families in Braunschweig Nordstadt/Weststadt,

for a study connected to my dissertation at the University of Texas at Austin, I am looking for families that want to participate in an interview and a game in June 2013. Participation is of course voluntary and anonymous. In particular, I am looking for families with children, that immigrated from a foreign country to Braunschweig in the last 50 years. The language background apart from German can be Russian, Turkish, Polish or any other language. It is not neccessary to speak German well!

Please find important information below. Please read the information befor you decide to participate..

With best regards,



David Hünlich

Who am I?
I am a doctoral student at the University of Texas at Austin (USA). I grew up in Nuremberg, here in Germany, and am studying in the U.S. In my study I am investigating the development of the German language in two neighborhoods of Braunschweig.

What exactly will we do?
- *children will conduct an interview with their parents about their immigration history and about the neighborhood*
- *After that the family will play a game at a table. The game will be video-taped.*

How long will it take?
It will take about an hour.

How will my private sphere be protected during the video recording?
The recordings will take place where it seems best to you. Data will be kept ***confidential****. The names of informants are not recorded. The interview data will* ***not be publically accessible****, there will be no copies remaining in Germany. Third parties cannot access the data without permission. Data will be destroyed after ten years.*

Do I have to participate in the study once I started?
No. It is completely voluntary. Your family can abort participation during the experiment, and noone will be upset.

What are the risks involved in this study?
There are no foreseeable risks to participating in this study.

What are the advantages of this study?
There is no money in return for participating this study. But you are helping me better understand the language dynamics of your neighborhood.

Who can I contact with questions about the study?
You can contact me by sending an email to david.huenlich@gmail.com. I will gladly answer your questions about the study anytime! You can also directly contact the Office of Research at the University of Texas with your questions: orsc@uts.cc.utexas.edu.

Informed consent letter (teachers, German original) – Page 1:

Teilnahme an einem Interview zu einer Sprachstudie

Sehr geehrte Deutschlehrer,

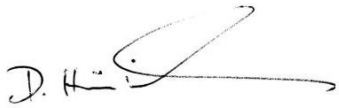
für eine Studie zu meiner Doktorarbeit an der Universität Austin in Texas suche ich an ihrer Schule Deutschlehrer, die zwischen 10. und 21. Juni Zeit für ein freiwilliges und anonymes Interview haben.

Ich suche vor allem

- Lehrer der 5. Klassen mit Kindern, die letztes Jahr die Rheinring Grundschule besucht haben
- Lehrer, die ein Interesse an Sprachentwicklung haben und gerne ihre Beobachtungen mitteilen

Wichtige Informationen finden Sie unten. Bitte lesen Sie die Information bevor Sie sich entscheiden mitzumachen.

Mit freundlichem Gruß,



David Hünlich

Wer bin ich?
Ich bin ein Promotionsstudent an der Universität von Texas in Austin (USA). Ich bin bei Nürnberg in Deutschland aufgewachsen und studiere in den USA. In meiner Studie erforsche ich die Entwicklung der deutschen Sprache bei Kindern in zwei Nachbarschaften in Braunschweig.

Was macht man beim Interview genau?
Ich stelle einige Fragen zu möglichen Auffälligkeiten in der Sprache der Kinder mit und ohne Migrationshintergrund. Der Ton der Interviews wird aufgenommen. Es dauert höchstens 45 Minuten.

Wie wird meine Privatsphäre nach den Tonaufnahmen geschützt?
*werden **anonym** gehalten. Die Namen meiner Informanten werden nicht aufgezeichnet. Die Interviewdaten werden **nicht öffentlich zugänglich** gemacht, es bleiben keine Kopien in Deutschland. Nur die Ergebnisse werden dem Schulamt mitgeteilt. Dritte können die Daten ohne Zustimmung nicht einsehen. Die Daten werden nach 10 Jahren vernichtet.*

Muss ich an der Studie teilnehmen, wenn ich angefangen habe?
Nein, es ist freiwillig. Sie können jederzeit abbrechen oder unterbrechen und niemand nimmt Ihnen einen Abbruch übel.

Gibt es ein Risiko bei dieser Studie?
Es gibt keine vorhersehbaren Risiken bei Teilnahme an dieser Studie.

Was sind die Vorteile dieser Studie?
Es gibt kein Geld für diese Studie. Aber Sie helfen mir die Sprachdynamik Ihrer Schüler besser zu verstehen und ich teile Ihnen Forschungsergebnisse aus dem letzten Jahr mit, die für Sie interessant sein könnten.

Wen kann ich kontaktieren, wenn ich Fragen zur Studie habe?
Sie können mich unter der Mailadresse david.huenlich@gmail.com erreichen. Ich beantworte Ihre Fragen gerne und jederzeit!

Sie können auch die Abteilung für Forschungsunterstützung der Universität in Texas direkt kontaktieren orsc@uts.cc.utexas.edu

Informed consent letter (teachers, English translation) – Page 1:

Participation in an Interview Related to a Language Study

Dear German teachers,

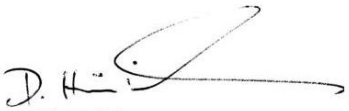
for a study connected to my dissertation at the University of Texas at Austin, I am seeking assistance from German teachers at your school, who have availabilities between June 10th and 21st for a voluntary and anonymous Interview.

In particular, I am looking for

- teachers of 5th grades with children that went to the Rheinring elementary school last year.
- teachers, who have an interest in language development and would like to share their observations.

Please find important information below. Please read the information befor you decide to participate.

With best regards,



David Hünlich

Who am I?
I am a doctoral student at the University of Texas at Austin (USA). I grew up in Nuremberg, here in Germany, and am studying in the U.S. In my study I am investigating the development of the German language in two neighborhoods of Braunschweig.

What exactly will happen during the interview?
I will ask questions concerning possible peculiarities in the language of children with and without immigration background. The interviews will be audiorecorded. It will take about 45 minutes.

How will my private sphere be protected after the audio recordings?
All interviews will be kept anonymous. The names of my informants will not be recorded. The interview data will not be publically accessible, there will be no copies remaining in Germany. Only the results will be shared with the school board. Third parties cannot access the data without permission. Data will be destroyed after ten years.

Do I have to participate in the study once I started?
No. It is completely voluntary. If you decide to interrupt or cancel you participation during the experiment, noone will be upset.

What are the risks involved in this study?
There are no foreseeable risks to participating in this study.

What are the advantages of this study?
There is no money for this study. But you are helping me better understand the language dynamics of your students and I will share research results from last year with you, thay may be of interest for you.

Who can I contact with questions about the study?
You can contact me by sending an email to david.huenlich@gmail.com. I will answer your questions about the study gladly and anytime! You can also directly contact the Office of Research at the University of Texas with your questions: orsc@uts.cc.utexas.edu.

Consent form for participation in video-recorded interview – Page 1:

IRB USE ONLY
Study Number:
Approval Date:
Expires:

Consent for Participation in Video-Recorded Interview

Title: Who Speaks the Ethnolect? - Identifying Migrolect Variety Speakers in Neighborhoods of Braunschweig (Germany)

Introduction

The purpose of this form is to provide you information that may affect your decision as to whether or not to participate in this research study. The person performing the research will answer any of your questions. Read the information below and ask any questions you might have before deciding whether or not to take part. If you decide to be involved in this study, this form will be used to record your consent.

Purpose of the Study

You have been asked to participate in a research study about speakers of new varieties of German emerging in the context of immigration. The purpose of this study is to better understand who the speakers of these varieties are and how the varieties develop.

What will you to be asked to do?

If you agree to participate in this study, you will be interviewed about the phenomenon and video recorded. This study will take 30 – 45 minutes. The same interview will also be conducted with approximately 10 – 20 other participants. **Your participation will be video recorded.**

What are the risks involved in this study?

There are no foreseeable risks to participating in this study.

What are the possible benefits of this study?

You will receive no direct benefit from participating in this study; however, your contribution helps better understand an important new linguistic phenomenon.

Do you have to participate?

No, your participation is voluntary. You may decide not to participate at all or, if you start the study, you may withdraw at any time. Withdrawal or refusing to participate will not affect your relationship with The University of Texas at Austin (University) in anyway.

If you would like to participate and you consent to be video-recorded, you are asked to sign this form below. You will receive a copy of this form.

Will there be any compensation?

You will not receive any type of payment participating in this study.

What are my confidentiality or privacy protections when participating in this research study?

If you choose to participate in this study, **you will be video recorded**. The video recordings will be stored securely and only the research team will have access to the recordings. Recordings will be kept for ten years and then erased. **The video data resulting from your participation may be used for future research or be made available to conference audiences or it may be used for educational purposes.**

Consent form for participation in video-recorded interview – Page 2:

Whom to contact with questions about the study?

Prior, during or after your participation you can contact the researcher **David Huenlich** under his email adress david.huenlich@gmail.com. This study has been reviewed and approved by The University Institutional Review Board and the study number is 2013-04-0151.

Whom to contact with questions concerning your rights as a research participant?

For questions about your rights or any dissatisfaction with any part of this study, you can contact, anonymously if you wish, the Institutional Review Board by phone at (512) 471-8871 or email at orsc@uts.cc.utexas.edu.

Participation

If you agree to participate please sign this form below and hand it directly to the researcher.

Signature

You have been informed about this study's purpose, procedures, possible benefits and risks, and you have received a copy of this form. You have been given the opportunity to ask questions before you sign, and you have been told that you can ask other questions at any time. You voluntarily agree to participate in this study. By signing this form, you are not waiving any of your legal rights.

_____
Printed Name

_____ _____
Signature Date

As a representative of this study, I have explained the purpose, procedures, benefits, and the risks involved in this research study.

_____
Print Name of Person obtaining consent

_____ _____
Signature of Person obtaining consent Date

Appendix B: Questionnaire and Interview Forms

The following pages contain a questionnaire and interview forms approved by The University of Texas at Austin IRB office for study 2012-05-0055 titled 'An Investigation of Verbal Event Structure in Urban Ethnolects spoken at German Schools' and for study 2013-04-0151 'Who speaks the Ethnolect?'. Both studies have since expired and will not be reactivated. The following Table provides an overview of the documents.

Document Type:	Document Number and Title:
Questionaire for study **2012**-05-0055:	1. Questionaire (German Original) *Fragenbogen zur Studie in Braunschweig*
	2. Questionaire (English Translation)
Semi-structured Interview for study **2013**-04-0151:	3. Semi-structured interview with social key figures
Semi-structured Interview for study **2013**-04-0151:	4. Semi-structured interview between children and parents (bilinguals)
Semi-structured Interview for study **2013**-04-0151:	5. Semi-structured interview with teachers

Questionaire (German Original) – Page 1:

Fragenbogen zur Studie in Braunschweig (David Hünlich, Universität Austin, david.huenlich@gmail.com)

<table>
<tr><td>Nummer des Kindes:</td><td colspan="2">Klasse:</td><td colspan="2">Schule (GI oder GR):</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="5">Gab es Probleme beim Interview? (Bitte notieren welche)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="5">1.Hintergrundinfo</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">1.1 Geburtsjahr:</td><td colspan="2">1.2 Geschlecht :</td><td rowspan="2">1.3 Nationalität(en):</td><td rowspan="2">1. 4 Geburtsland:

Nicht Deutschland? ↓</td></tr>
<tr><td>M</td><td>W</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">1.6 Stadtteil (Wohnort):</td><td></td><td>1.5 Alter bei der Ankunft:</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="5">1.7 Wie lange lebst du schon im Stadtteil?</td></tr>
<tr><td>Jahre</td><td colspan="2">Monate</td><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="5">1.8 Lebst du im Moment...</td></tr>
<tr><td>bei deiner Familie?</td><td colspan="2">bei Verwandten?</td><td colspan="2">Oder woanders?</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="5">1.9 Wie viele Menschen leben bei dir zu Hause? (bitte eins ankreuzen)</td></tr>
<tr><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>4</td><td>5</td><td>6</td><td>7</td><td>8</td><td>9</td><td>10+</td></tr>
</table>

Questionaire (German Original) – Page 2:

2. Sprachen zu Hause

2.1 Welche Sprachen sprechen die Leute bei dir daheim? (Bitte zweimal nachhaken: auch Minderheitensprachen wie Kurdisch müssen erfasst werden.)

Deutsch

Sprache 2:_____

Sprache 3:_____

2.2 Mischst du manchmal deutsch und eine andere Sprache? (Wenn ja, welche?)

3. Spracherwerb und Sprachumfeld

3.1 Wie alt warst du als du deutsch gelernt hast?

Geburt	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15

3.2 Wo hast du deutsch gelernt? (bitte ankreuzen und ggf. ergänzen)

Zu Hause	Kinderkrippe	Kindergarten	In der Schule	Kinderhort
DAZ Unterricht	Bei Nachbarn	Auf der Straße	Jugendclub	Anderer Ort:

3.3 Wie alt warst du als du deine andere(n) Sprache(n) gelernt hast?

Weitere Sprache:_____ (Sprache 2)

Geburt	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Weitere Sprache:_____(Sprache 3)

Geburt	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Wenn das Kind nur deutsch spricht, werden die Fragen bis 4.8.1 nicht gestellt, ab 4.8.1 werden die Häufigkeitsfragen und die anwendbaren Fragen gestellt.

Questionaire (German Original) – Page 3:

3.4 Wieviel Jahre hast du in dem Land gelebt, in dem diese Sprachen gesprochen werden?														
Deutsch					Sprache 2					Sprache 3				
immer	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
5	6	7	8	9	6	7	8	9	10	6	7	8	9	10
10	11	12	13	14	11	12	13	14	kein Jahr	11	12	13	14	kein Jahr

3.5 Wohnst du schon immer in einem Haushalt in dem diese Sprachen gesprochen werden? Wie viele Jahre sprichst du schon daheim diese Sprachen?														
Deutsch					Sprache 2					Sprache 3				
Schon immer	1	2	3	4	Schon immer	1	2	3	4	Schon immer	3	4	5	6
5	6	7	8	9	5	6	7	8	9	7	8	9	10	11
10	11	12	13	Kein Deutsch	10	11	12	13	gar nicht	12	13	14	15	gar nicht

3.6 Wie oft und wie lange bist du in der Heimat deiner Eltern (in einem Land in dem Sprachen 2/Sprachen 3 gesprochen werden)?		
Monate und Wochen jedes Jahr insgesamt:	Monate:	Wochen

3.7 Welche Sprachen sprichst du dann vor Ort, wenn du Verwandte besuchst?				
Deutsch				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Sprache 2				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Sprache 3				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Gemischt (Gemischt bedeutet, dass ihr in der gleichen Unterhaltung hin und her wechselt – vielleicht auch mal im selben Satz.)				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer

Questionaire (German Original) – Page 4:

3.7 Wie gut sprechen die Leute bei dir zu Hause deutsch/Sprache 2/Sprache 3? Du darfst Schulnoten vergeben! Aber nur bis 5. Das ist das schlechteste. **Achtung es gibt einen Unterschied zwischen VERSTEHEN und SPRECHEN ;)** **HIER FRAGEN WIR ZUERST NACH DEM SPRECHEN:**														
(Hier bitte reinschreiben welches Familienmitglied: Mutter, Bruder etc...)														
Deutsch					Sprache 2					Sprache 3				
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
(Hier bitte reinschreiben welches Familienmitglied)														
Deutsch					2. Sprache					3. Sprache				
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
(Hier bitte reinschreiben welches Familienmitglied)														
Deutsch					Sprache 2					Sprache 3				
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
(Hier bitte reinschreiben welches Familienmitglied)														
Deutsch					Sprache 2					Sprache 3				
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
(Hier bitte reinschreiben welches Familienmitglied)														
Deutsch					Sprache 2					Sprache 3				
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
(Hier bitte reinschreiben welches Familienmitglied)														
Deutsch					Sprache 2					Sprache 3				
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
(Hier bitte reinschreiben welches Familienmitglied)														
Deutsch					Sprache 2					Sprache 3				
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
Und welche Noten gibst du dir selber?														
Deutsch					Sprache 2					Sprache 3				
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5

Questionaire (German Original) – Page 5:

JETZT FRAGEN WIR NACH DEM VERSTEHEN: 3.8 Wie gut verstehen die Leute bei dir zu Hause deutsch/Sprache 2/Sprache 3? Du darfst Schulnoten vergeben! Aber nur bis 5. Das ist das schlechteste.														
(Hier bitte reinschreiben welches Familienmitglied)														
Deutsch					2. Sprache					3. Sprache				
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
(Hier bitte reinschreiben welches Familienmitglied)														
Deutsch					2. Sprache					3. Sprache				
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
(Hier bitte reinschreiben welches Familienmitglied)														
Deutsch					2. Sprache					3. Sprache				
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
(Hier bitte reinschreiben welches Familienmitglied)														
Deutsch					2. Sprache					3. Sprache				
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
(Hier bitte reinschreiben welches Familienmitglied)														
Deutsch					2. Sprache					3. Sprache				
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
(Hier bitte reinschreiben welches Familienmitglied)														
Deutsch					2. Sprache					3. Sprache				
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
Und wie ist es bei Dir selber?														
Deutsch					2. Sprache					3. Sprache				
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5

Questionaire (German Original) – Page 6:

3.9 In welchen Sprachen sprechen die anderen Familienmitglieder mit Dir?				
(Hier bitte reinschreiben welches Familienmitglied)				
Deutsch				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Sprache 2				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Sprache 3				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Gemischt				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
(Hier bitte reinschreiben welches Familienmitglied)				
Deutsch				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Sprache 2				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Sprache 3				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Gemischt				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
(Hier bitte reinschreiben welches Familienmitglied)				
Deutsch				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer

Sprache 2				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Sprache 3				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Gemischt				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
(Hier bitte reinschreiben welches Familienmitglied)				
Deutsch				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Sprache 2				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Sprache 3				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Gemischt				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
(Hier bitte reinschreiben welches Familienmitglied)				
Deutsch				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Sprache 2				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Sprache 3				

Questionaire (German Original) – Page 8:

fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Gemischt				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
(Hier bitte reinschreiben welches Familienmitglied)				
Deutsch				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Sprache 2				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Sprache 3				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Gemischt				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
(Hier bitte reinschreiben welches Familienmitglied)				
Deutsch				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Sprache 2				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Sprache 3				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Gemischt				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer

Questionaire (German Original) – Page 9:

3.10 Und wie sprichst du mit den anderen Familienmitgliedern?				
(Hier bitte reinschreiben welches Familienmitglied)				
Deutsch				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Sprache 2				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Sprache 3				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Gemischt				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
(Hier bitte reinschreiben welches Familienmitglied)				
Deutsch				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Sprache 2				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Sprache 3				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Gemischt				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
(Hier bitte reinschreiben welches Familienmitglied)				
Deutsch				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer

Questionaire (German Original) – Page 10:

Sprache 2				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Sprache 3				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Gemischt				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
(Hier bitte reinschreiben welches Familienmitglied)				
Deutsch				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Sprache 2				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Sprache 3				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Gemischt				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
(Hier bitte reinschreiben welches Familienmitglied)				
Deutsch				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Sprache 2				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Sprache 3				

Questionaire (German Original) – Page 11:

fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Gemischt				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
(Hier bitte reinschreiben welches Familienmitglied)				
Deutsch				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Sprache 2				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Sprache 3				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Gemischt				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
(Hier bitte reinschreiben welches Familienmitglied)				
Deutsch				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Sprache 2				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Sprache 3				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Gemischt				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer

4. Sprache im Alltag 4.1 Kannst du mal kurz erzählen, wie Dein Tagesablauf aussieht? Wann stehst du auf und wann gehst du in die Schule? Was macht ihr normalerweise nach der Schule? Schaust du viel fernsehen? Gehst du in den Jugendclub oder zum Sport? Denkt dabei beim Erzählen dran mit wem ihr dabei sprecht... **(bitte immer wieder nachhaken!)**				
4.2.1 Wer ist die Person mit der du während so einem Tag am längsten sprichst?				
4.2.2 Über was? (grobe Themen)				
4.2.3 Und in welcher Sprache?				
Deutsch				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Sprache 2				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Sprache 3				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Gemischt				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
4.3,1 Mit wem sprichst du während des Tages noch viel?				
4.3.2 Über was?				
4.3.3 Und in welcher Sprache?				
Deutsch				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Sprache 2				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer

Questionaire (German Original) – Page 13:

Sprache 3				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Gemischt				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
4.4.1 Mit wem sprichst du noch oft?				
4.4.2 Über was?				
4.4.3 Und in welcher Sprache?				
Deutsch				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Sprache 2				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Sprache 3				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Gemischt				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
4.4.4. Musst du deiner Mama oder deinem Papa mit deutsch oft helfen?				
Ja.	Eher schon.	Eher nicht.	Nein.	Weiß nicht
4.4.5.Wo musst du denn zum Beispiel helfen? (freie Antwort)				
Alle folgenden Unterpunkte zählen zu 4! 4. 5.1 Wieviel beste Freunde hast du?				

4. 5.2 Wie oft siehst du die Freunde am Tag? (Beste Freunde und Aktivitäten auflisten lassen)				
4. 5.3 Und welche Sprachen sprecht ihr miteinander?				
5.3.1. Freund/in				
Deutsch				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Sprache 2				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Sprache 3				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Gemischt				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
5.3.2 Freund/in				
Deutsch				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Sprache 2				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Sprache 3				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Gemischt				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
5.3.3. Freund/in				
Deutsch				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer

Questionaire (German Original) – Page 15:

Sprache 2				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Sprache 3				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Gemischt				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
5.3.4. Freund/in				
Deutsch				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Sprache 2				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Sprache 3				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Gemischt				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
5.3.5. Hattest du eine frühere beste/r Freund/in? Wie hast du mit ihm/ ihr gesprochen?				
Deutsch				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Sprache 2				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Sprache 3				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Gemischt				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
4. 6.Welche Sprachen sprichst du in der Schule auf dem Pausenhof und mit den Mitschülern?				
Deutsch				

fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Sprache 2				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Sprache 3				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Gemischt				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Bekommst du in der Schule Unterricht in einer Sprache außer Deutsch? Wenn ja in welcher?				
Bekommst außerhalb der Schule Unterricht in einer Sprache außer Deutsch? Wenn ja, in welcher?				
4. 7. Wie sprichst du in deiner Nachbarschaft auf der Straße?				
Deutsch				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Sprache 2				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Sprache 3				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Gemischt				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Ab hier die Häufigkeitsfragen bitte auch den deutschsprachigen Kindern stellen!				
8.1 Wie **lange** guckst du Fernsehen am Tag?				
Fast nie	Weniger als einmal am Tag	1 Stunde am Tag	3 Stunden am Tag	Mehr als 3 Stunden
8.2 Bitte markieren falls von 4 abweichend				

8.3 Was für Sendungen guckst du so?				
8.4 Und in welcher Sprache sind die Sendungen?				
Deutsch				
fast keine	Ein paar	In der Mitte	Viele	fast alle
Sprache 2				
fast keine	Ein paar	In der Mitte	Viele	fast alle
Sprache 3				
fast keine	Ein paar	In der Mitte	Viele	fast alle
Gemischt				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer

9.1 Wie **oft** schreibst du SMS?			
Fast nie	Einmal am Tag	Ein paarmal am Tag	Fast jede Stunde

9.2 Und in welcher Sprache schreibst du SMS?				
Deutsch				
fast keine	Ein paar	In der Mitte	Viele	fast alle
Sprache 2				
fast keine	Ein paar	In der Mitte	Viele	fast alle
Sprache 3				
fast keine	Ein paar	In der Mitte	Viele	fast alle
Gemischt				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer

10.1 Wie **oft** bist du auf SchülerVZ oder Facebook?			
Fast nie	Einmal am Tag	Ein paarmal am Tag	Fast jede Stunde

10.2 Und in welcher Sprache schreibst du da?				
Deutsch				
fast nie	wenig	In der Mitte	viel	fast immer

Sprache 2				
fast nie	wenig	In der Mitte	viel	fast immer
Sprache 3				
fast nie	wenig	In der Mitte	viel	fast immer
Gemischt				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
11.1Gehst du in eine Kirche, Moschee oder einen anderen religiösen Ort?				
Kirche	Moschee	Anderer Ort:		
11.2 Wie oft gehst du? Würdest du sagen...		einmal im Jahr		
		weniger als einmal im Monat		
		einmal oder zweimal im Monat		
		einmal in der Woche		
		fast jeden Tag		
11.3 In welchen Sprachen sprechen die Leute in der Kirche/Moschee/dem religiösen Ort?				
Deutsch				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Sprache 2				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Sprache 3				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Gemischt				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
11.4 Gibt es noch eine Sprache, die die Leute dort sprechen?				
11.5 In welcher Sprache sprichst du in der Kirche/Moschee/dem religiösen Ort?				
Deutsch				

fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Sprache 2				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Sprache 3				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Gemischt				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer

11.6 Ist der Besuch in der Kirche/Moschee/dem religiösen Ort wichtig für dich?	
Würdest du sagen...	sehr wichtig
	ziemlich wichtig
	nicht sehr wichtig
	gar nicht wichtig
11.7 Bekommst du in der Kirche/Moschee/dem religiösen Ort Unterricht in einer anderen Sprache außer Deutsch? Wenn ja in welcher?	

12.1 Gehst du in deiner Freizeit in einen Jugendtreff, einen Sportverein oder einen anderen Club?		
Treff	Verein	Anderer Club
12.2 Wie oft gehst du? Würdest du sagen...		einmal im Jahr
		weniger als einmal im Monat
		einmal oder zweimal im Monat
		einmal in der Woche
		fast jeden Tag
12.3 In welchen Sprachen sprechen die Leute im Jugendtreff/Sportverein/ Club?		
12.4 In welcher Sprache sprichst du im Jugendtreff/Sportverein/ Club?		
Deutsch		

fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Sprache 2				

fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Sprache 3				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Gemischt				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer

12.5 Ist der Besuch im Jugendtreff/Sportverein/ Club wichtig für dich?	
Würdest du sagen...	sehr wichtig
	ziemlich wichtig
	nicht sehr wichtig
	gar nicht wichtig
13.1 Gibt es noch einen anderen Ort an dem du Deine Sprachen sprichst?	
Ort:	
13.2 Wie oft geht du dort hin? Würdest du sagen...	einmal im Jahr
	weniger als einmal im Monat
	einmal oder zweimal im Monat
	einmal in der Woche
	fast jeden Tag
13.3 In welchen Sprachen sprechen die Leute dort?	
13.4 In welcher Sprache sprichst du dort?	

Deutsch				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Sprache 2				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Sprache 3				
fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
Gemischt				

Questionaire (German Original) – Page 21:

fast nie	Wenig	In der Mitte	Viel	fast immer
13.5 Ist der Besuch an diesem Ort wichtig für dich?				
Würdest du sagen...			sehr wichtig	
			ziemlich wichtig	
			nicht sehr wichtig	
			gar nicht wichtig	

Danke fürs Mitmachen!

Questionaire (English Translation) – Page 1:

Background Questionaire – Braunschweig 2012 (David Hünlich, University of Texas at Austin, david.huenlich@gmail.com) **Note: bolded text is for assistant only.**

Number:	**Class:**	**School (GI or GR):**
Any Problems during Interview? (Please note which)		

1. Backgroundinfo

1.1 Year of Birth:	1.2 Gender :		1.3 Nationalities:	1. 4 Place of Birth:
	M	F		Not Germany? ↓
1.6 Neighborhood (Street):				1.5 Age at Arrival:

1.7 How long have you been living in the neighborhood?

Years	Months	

1.8 Where are you living at the moment...

with your familiy?	with relatives?	somewhere else?

1.9 How many people are you at home? (please mark)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10+

Questionaire (English Translation) – Page 2:

2. Languages at home

2.1 Which languages do people in your family speak? (Please ask several times to make sure not to miss minority languages like Kurdish.)

German

Language 2:_____

Language 3:_____

2.2 Do you sometimes mix German and another language? **(If so, which two/three?)**

3. Language Acquisition and Surroundings

3.1 How old were you when you learned German?

Birth	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15

3.2 Where did you learn German? **(please mark all that apply)**

At home	day care for babies	kindergarten	School	day care for older children (Kinderhort)
GSL classes	Neighbors	On the street	Youth club	Other place:

3.3 How old where you when you learned your other language(s)?

Language 2:_____

Birth	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Language 3:_____

Birth	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

If a child only speaks German, skip all questions until 4.8.1. After 4.8.1 please ask all questions that apply.

3.4 How many years have you lived in a country in which these languages are spoken?

Questionaire (English Translation) – Page 3:

German					Language 2					Language 3				
always	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
5	6	7	8	9	6	7	8	9	10	6	7	8	9	10
10	11	12	13	14	11	12	13	14	none	11	12	13	14	none

3.5 Have these languages always been spoken in your home? For how many years have you been speaking these languages at home?

German					Language 2					Language 3				
Always	1	2	3	4	Always	1	2	3	4	Always	3	4	5	6
5	6	7	8	9	5	6	7	8	9	7	8	9	10	11
10	11	12	13	no German	10	11	12	13		12	13	14	15	

3.6 How often and how long do you stay in a country in which language 2/ 3 is spoken?

Rythm **(every year, every two years)**:	Months:	Weeks

3.7 Which languages do you speak when you are there?

German				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 2				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 3				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Mixed				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always

3.7 How good do the people in your home speak German/language 2/language 3? You can grade your family! Five is the worst **(refer to German grading system)**.
(First we will see how good they speak, then how good they comprehend)

(Please note down which family member: mother, brother etc...)

Questionaire (English Translation) – Page 4:

German					Language 2					Language 3				
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
(Family member!)														
German					Language 2					Language 3				
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
(Family member:)														
German					Language 2					Language 3				
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
(Family member:)														
German					Language 2					Language 3				
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
(Family member:)														
German					Language 2					Language 3				
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
(Family member:)														
German					Language 2					Language 3				
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
(Family member:)														
German					Language 2					Language 3				
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
Which grade do you give yourself?														
German					Language 2					Language 3				
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
(Now we are concentrating on perception) 3.8 How good do the people at your home understand German/Language 2/Language 3? Again you can assign school grades! Five is worst.														
(Family member:)														

Questionaire (English Translation) – Page 5:

German					Language 2					Language 3				
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
(Family member:)														
German					Language 2					Language 3				
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
(Family member:)														
German					Language 2					Language 3				
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
(Family member:)														
German					Language 2					Language 3				
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
(Family member:)														
German					Language 2					Language 3				
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
(Family member:)														
German					Language 2					Language 3				
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
(Family member:)														
German					Language 2					Language 3				
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
What about yourself?														
German					Language 2					Language 3				
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5

3.9 In what languages do the other family members speak to you?				
(Family member:)				
German				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always

Language 2				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 3				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Mixed				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
(Family member:)				
German				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 2				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 3				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Mixed				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
(Family member:)				
German				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 2				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 3				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Mixed				

Questionaire (English Translation) – Page 7:

almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
(Family member:)				
German				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 2				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 3				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Mixed				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
(Family member:)				
German				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 2				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 3				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Mixed				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
(Family member:)				
German				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always

Language 2				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 3				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Mixed				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
(Family member:)				
German				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 2				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 3				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Mixed				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
3.10 And how do you speak to other family members?				
(Family member:)				
German				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 2				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 3				

almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Mixed				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
(Family member:)				
German				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 2				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 3				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Mixed				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
(Family member:)				
German				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 2				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 3				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Mixed				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
(Family member:)				

German				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 2				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 3				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Mixed				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
(Family member:)				
German				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 2				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 3				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Mixed				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
(Family member:)				
German				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 2				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 3				

almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Mixed				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
(Family member:)				
German				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 2				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 3				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Mixed				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always

4. Every day language use 4.1 Can you tell us what your every day routine looks like? When do you get up, when do you go to school? What do you usually do after school? Do you watch a lot of TV? Do you go to a youth club or to a sports club? **(Ask repeatedly who the informant is talking to during his every day activities)**				
4.2.1 Who is the person you speak to the most during your day?				
4.2.2 About what? **(Topics will emerge as students describe it... everything, school, younger siblings, friends, soccer...)**				
4.2.3 In what language?				
German				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 2				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always

Language 3				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Mixed				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
4.3.1 Whom else do you talk a lot to during your day?				
4.3.2 About what?				
4.3.3 In what language?				
German				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 2				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 3				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Mixed				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
4.4.1 Whomelse do you talk a lot to?				
4.4.2 About what?				
4.4.3 And in what language?				
German				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 2				

almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 3				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Mixed				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
4.4.4.Do you have to often help your parents with German?				
Yes	Rather yes.	Rather not.	No.	Don't know.
4.4.5.Where do you have to help them sometimes?				
All the following points are part of 4. 4. 5.1 How many best friends do you have?				
4. 5.2 How often do you see your friends every day? **(Let students list friends and activities...)**				
4. 5.3 And which languages do you speak with eachother?				
5.3.1. Friend				
German				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 2				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 3				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Mixed				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
5.3.2 Friend				

German				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 2				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 3				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Mixed				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
5.3.3. Friend				
German				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 2				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 3				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Mixed				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
5.3.4. Friend				
German				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 2				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 3				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always

Mixed				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
5.3.5. What about a past friend? How did you speak with him/her?				
German				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 2				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 3				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Mixed				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
4. 6.Which languages do you speak during recess in school?				
German				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 2				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 3				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Mixed				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Do you have classes in a language other than German in school? If so, in which language?				

Do you go to language classes outside of school? If so, in which?				
4. 7. How do you speak in your neighborhood, on the street?				
German				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 2				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 3				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Mixed				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
As of here, also ask questions to autochthonous Germans!				
8.1 How long do you watch TV every day?				
Almost never	Less than once a day	an hour a day	3 hours a day	More than 3 hours
8.2 Please mark if answer deviates from 4.				
8.3 What type of shows do you watch?				
8.4 What language are the shows in?				
German				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 2				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 3				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always

Questionaire (English Translation) – Page 17:

9.1 How often do you write SMS?				
almost never	Once a day	A few times a day	Every other hour	
9.2 And in which language do you write SMS?				
German				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 2				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 3				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Mixed				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
10.1 How often do you go on Facebook or Schueler VZ?				
almost never	Once a day	A few times a day	Every other hour	
10.2 And in which language do you write there?				
German				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 2				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 3				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Mixed				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always

Questionaire (English Translation) – Page 18:

11.1 Do you go to a church, mosque or some other religious place?				
Church	Mosque	Other place:		
11.2 How often do you go? Would you say...		once a year		
		less than once a month, but more than once a year		
		once or twice a month		
		once a week		
		almost every day		
11.3 In what languages do people speak there?				
German				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 2				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 3				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Mixed				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
11.4 Are there other languages that people speak there?				
11.5 In what language do you speak there?				
German				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 2				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 3				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always

Mixed				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
11.6 Is the visit important to you?				
Would you say...	very important			
	quite important			
	not so important			
	not important at all			
11.7 Is their instruction in another language while you are at church/at the mosque/the religious institution.				
12.1 Do you go to a youth club, a sports association or another club during leisure time?				
Youth Cl.	Sports Ass.	Other:		
12.2 How often do you go, would you say...	once a year			
	less than once a month, but more than once a year			
	once or twice a month			
	once a week			
	almost every day			
12.3 In which languages do people speak there?				
12.4 In which languages do you speak there?				
German				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 2				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 3				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Mixed				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always

12.5 Is the visit there important for you				
Would you say...	very important			
	quite important			
	not so important			
	not important at all			
13.1 Is there another place where you speak your languages?				
Place:				
13.2 How often do you go there? Would you say...	once a year			
	less than once a month, but more than once a year			
	once or twice a month			
	once a week			
	almost every day			
13.3 In what languages do people speak there?				
13.4 In what language do you speak there?				
German				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 2				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Language 3				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
Mixed				
almost never	a bit	half of the time	a lot	almost always
13.5 Is the visit at this place important for you?				
Would you say...	very important			
	quite important			
	not very important			
	not important at all			

Thank you for participating!

Semi-structured interview with social key figures

Was ist Ihr Beruf in dieser Nachbarschaft? Wie tragen Sie vor Ort zum Gemeinwesen bei?
What is your job in this neighborhood? How do you contribute to the local community?

Inwiefern stehen Sie bei Ihrer Tätigkeit mit Einwandererfamilien oder Mitbürgern mit Migrationshintergrund in Kontakt? Wie regelmäßig und wie tief bekommen Sie Einblick in das Familienleben von Familien mit Migrationshintergrund? Würden Sie den Kontakt als eher eng oder eher oberflächlich bezeichnen?
During your work, to what extent are you in contact with immigrant families or fellow citizens that have immigration background? How frequently and how deep can you see into the family life of families with immigration background? Would you describe the contact as rather close or rather superficial?

Welche Sprachen verwenden Sie bei der Arbeit, wenn Sie mit Familien mit Migrationshintergrund Kontakt haben?
What languages do you use during your job, when you are in contact with families with immigration background?

Können Sie beschreiben wie die Elterngeneration in Einwandererfamilien deutsch spricht? Kann man irgendwelche Verallgemeinerungen machen? Oder ist es sehr unterschiedlich?
Can you describe how the parents in immigrant families speak German? Is it possible to make any generalizations? Or are there many differences?

Gibt es Familien, mit denen die Kommunikation auf Deutsch absolut keine Probleme bereitet? Haben Sie Beispiele von Fällen, in denen die Kommunikation für Sie besonders schwierig war?
Are there families with which communication in German is absolutely no problem? And do you have examples of instances in which communication was specifically difficult for you?

Wie alt sind die jüngsten Kinder aus Einwandererfamilien mit denen Sie Kontakt haben?
How old are the youngest children from immigrant families that you have contact with?

Können Sie uns sagen, ob diese Kinder schon irgendeine Art von Deutsch sprechen, wenn Sie sie das erste Mal treffen? Achtung: auch Deutsch das in Ihren Ohren falsch klingt ist von Interesse. Oder können die Kinder meist gar kein Deutsch?
Could you tell us whether these children already speak a type of German when you first meet them? Note: German that sounds wrong in your ears is also of interest. Or do they know no German at all?

Falls die Kinder eine Art von Deutsch sprechen, wenn sie Sie zum ersten Mal treffen, wo vermuten Sie kommt dieses Deutsch her?
If the children already know some type of German when they meet you, where do you think it comes from?

Falls die Kinder meist gar kein Deutsch können, wo lernen Sie ihrer Beobachtung nach Deutsch? Wie lange dauert es für die Kinder deutsch zu lernen?

If the children know no German at all, where do they learn German according to your observations? How long does it take for them to learn German?

Wie kommunizieren Kinder, deren Eltern aus verschiedenen Ländern kommen, in der Nachbarschaft und in Ihrem Arbeitsbereich miteinander?
How do children whose parents come from different countries communicate with each other in the neighborhood and in your field of work?

Wie sieht es mit Kindern aus, deren Eltern Deutsche sind: Konnten Sie beobachten wie diese Kinder mit Kindern Deutsch sprechen, die einen Migrationshintergrund haben? Gibt es dazu interessante Beobachtungen? Gibt es Kommunikationsprobleme, wenn die Kinder jünger sind oder werden diese Schwierigkeiten rasch überwunden?
What about children whose parents are German: have you made any observations on how autochthonous German children and children that have an immigration background speak to each other? Have you made any interesting observations? Are there communicative problems at young ages or are these difficulties quickly overcome?

Wie sind die sozialen Netzwerke und Freundeskreise gestrickt? spielen die Kinder in gemischten Gruppen, oder gibt es vor allem Freunde/Kontakte mit der eigenen Ethnie oder mit anderen, die einen Migrationshintergrund haben? Haben Sie dazu irgendwelche Beobachtungen gemacht?
How are the social networks and circles of friends made up? Do children play in mixed groups, or are friends/contacts primarily found among one's own ethnicity or among others that share an immigration background? Did you make any observations?

Wer kümmert sich Ihrer Beobachtung nach in den Familien am meisten um die Kinder: die Mutter, der Vater oder die älteren Geschwister?
According to your observations, who takes care of children most of the time in families: the mother, the father or the older siblings?

Sprechen diese Personen ihrer Beobachtung nach auch deutsch mit den Jüngsten?
Do these people also speak German with the youngest?

Hat sich das Deutsch derer mit Migrationshintergrund in der Zeit seit Sie in der Nachbarschaft wohnen/ arbeiten irgendwie verändert?
Has the German of those with an immigration background changed somehow during the time you worked/lived in this neighborhood?

Semi-structured interview between children and parents (bilinguals)

1) *Wie ist unsere Familie nach Deutschland gekommen? Kannst du mir die Geschichte erzählen?*
   How did our family come to Germany? Can you tell me the story?

2) *Wie findest du dein Leben in Deutschland?*
   How do you like your life in Germany?

3) *Wie gefällt dir deine Nachbarschaft? Wo geht man hin, um Leute zu treffen? Gibt es wichtige Orte oder Vereine, die man kennen sollte, wenn man in der Nachbarschaft lebt?*
   How do you like your neighborhood? Where does one usually go, in order to meet people? Are there important places or associations that one should know if one lives in the neighborhood?

4) *Was würdest du an Deiner Nachbarschaft ändern, wenn du könntest?*
   What would you change about your neighborhood, if you could?

5) *Vermisst du manchmal das Land deiner Geburt? Was fehlt dir am meisten?*
   Do you sometimes miss the country of your birth? What do you miss most?

6) *Was war das schwierigste Erlebnis für Dich oder für deine Familie als Einwanderer in Deutschland?*
   What was the most difficult experience for you or for your family as immigrants in Germany?

7) *Was ist das schönste an Braunschweig/Leipzig? Was gefällt dir absolut am besten?*
   What is the nicest thing about Braunschweig/Leipzig? What do you absolutely like best?

Semi-structured interview with teachers

1) *Im letzten Jahr wurde das Deutsch von Kindern mit und ohne Migrationshintergrund studiert, die im Herbst 2012 von der Grundschule an Ihre Schule gewechselt sind. Grund für die Tests mit über 70 Kindern war die Fragestellung, ob Kinder mit Migrationshintergrund außerhalb der Schule ein anderes Deutsch sprechen, als ihre Klassenkameraden ohne Migrationshintergrund. Hierzu gibt es sehr unterschiedliche Meinungen. Können Sie aus ihrer Erfahrung als Lehrer sagen, ob es in der 5. Klasse Anzeichen im Deutsch der Kinder gibt, die sie betreuen, die darauf hinweisen, ob ein Kind Migrationshintergrund hat oder nicht?*
   Last year a study on the German of children with and without immigration background was conducted. These children transferred to your school in fall 2012 from elementary schools. The reason for testing over 70 children was the question whether children with immigration background speak a different type of German outside of school than their class mates with immigration background. The opinions on this question differ strongly. Could you tell me according to your experience as a teacher, whether there are indications in the German of the children under your tutelage that point to the immigration background of a child or whether there are no such indications?

2) *Haben Sie den Eindruck, dass manche Schüler – egal mit welchem Hintergrund - die Bedeutung deutscher Wörter nicht verstehen? Kommt das eher selten vor? Oder eher oft?*
   Do you have the impression that some students – regardless of their background- do not understand the meaning of German words? Does that happen rarely or rather often?

3) *Gibt es Hinweise auf einen gemeinsamen Hintergrund der Schüler, die im Bezug auf Wortverständnis Probleme aufweisen?*
   Are there indications pointing to a common background of students that exhibit problems with regard to understanding the meaning of words?

4) *Gibt es seine Wortklasse, bei der Defizite besonders auffällig sind?*
   Is there a class of words in which the deficits are particularly remarkable?

5) *Fallen Ihnen Unterschiede im Wortschatzumfang der Studenten mit und ohne Migrationshintergrund auf?*
   Are there differences in the scope of vocabulary between students with and without immigration background that you are aware of?

6) *Gibt es Unterschiede zwischen diesen Schülern im Gebrauch von Wörtern, die Ihnen irgendwann einmal aufgefallen sind?*
   Have you noticed any differences in the usage of words between these students?

7) *Als Beispiel, möchte ich Ihnen ein Ergebnis vom letzten Jahr zeigen: diesem Dendrogram zu folge haben Schüler mit Migrationshintergrund das Verb "kommen" signifikant oft mit "schleichen" und "humpeln" gruppiert, weil sie Bedeutungsähnlichkeiten sehen. Diese Gruppierung kommt bei den Schülern ohne Migrationshintergrund kaum vor: dort finden wir "kommen" mit den Verben "gehen", "marschieren", "spazieren", "wandern". Sind Ihnen im Hinblick auf das Verb "kommen" irgendwann Gebrauchsunterschiede aufgefallen? Oder gibt es andere Unterschiede im Gebrauch von Verbklassen, die Ihnen vergleichbar erscheinen?*
As an example, I want to show you a result from last year: according to this dendrogram, Students with immigration background grouped the verb "to come" with "to sneak" and "to hobble" significantly often, because they see similarities of meaning. This grouping hardly exists among students without immigration background: there we find "to come" with the verbs "to go", "to march", "to take a stroll", "to take a hike, to wander". Have you noticed any differences in the usage of the verb "to come"? Or are there differences in the usage of verbs classes that seem comparable to you?

Appendix C: More Examples of Multiethnolect Features

C1) ***wenn*** ***man*** ***studiert*** ***und*** ***zu*** ***lange*** ***dort*** ***bleibt,*** ***wollen***
if one studies and too long there stays want.p

die ***anderen,*** ***die*** ***<u>bei Firma,</u>*** ***uns*** ***dann*** ***nicht*** ***haben***
the others those at company us then not have

… *die* *bei* *<u>der</u>* *Firma* …

'If one studies and stays there too long, the others – those at the company – don't want us'. (NSE –I2-4, 3.20 min: male, German/ Thai/Indonesian)

C2) ***jetzt*** ***weiß*** ***ich*** ***es*** ***nicht*** ***genau*** ***wo*** ***ich*** ***Fehler*** ***hatte***
now know I it not exactly where I mistakes had

jetzt *weiß* *ich* *es* *nicht* *genau* *wo* *ich* *Fehler* *hatte*

bei ***<u>den</u>*** ***Test*** ***aber*** ***ich*** ***weiß***
in the test but I know

bei *<u>dem</u>* *Test* *aber* *ich* *weiß,*

dass ***ich*** ***<u>bei Rechtschreibung</u>*** ***hatte.***
that I with spelling had

dass *ich* *<u>in der Rechtschreibung</u>* *<u>welche</u>* *hatte.*

'I don't know exactly where I had mistakes in the test, but I know that I had some in spelling'. (NSE –I2-22, 7.20 min: female, German/Turkish)

C3) ***'Das*** ***einzige*** ***was*** ***ich*** ***Scheiße*** ***finde*** ***noch*** ***dass*** ***so*** ***viele*** ***Sachen***
The only that I shit find also that so many things

zu ***<u>gibs</u>*** ***wo*** ***Gelatine*** ***drin*** ***ist.***
essen
to eat there.are where gelatin in is

dass *<u>es</u>* *so* *viele* *Sachen* *zu essen* *<u>gibt</u>* *wo* *Gelatine* *drin* *ist.*

'The only other thing I find crappy is that there are so many things to eat that have gelatin in them'. (NSE –I2-20, 8.00 min: male, German/Albanian)

C4) ***Mach*** ***ich*** ***Hausaufgaben…***
Do 1s home.work.PL

Manchmal	***mach***	***ich***	***<u>den</u>***	***gleich***	***nach***	***dem***	***Essen.***
Sometimes	do	1s	3s.ACC	right	after	DET	lunch
Manchmal	*mach*	*ich*	*die*	*gleich*	*nach*	*dem*	*Essen.*
Sometimes	do	1s	3p.ACC	right	after	DET	lunch

Nach	***<u>dem</u>***	***Hausaufgaben***	***gucke***	***ich***	***Fernsehen.***
After	3s.DAT	homework	watch	1s	television
Nach	*den*	*Hausaufgaben*	*gucke*	*ich*	*Fernsehen.*
After	3p.DAT	homework	watch	1s	television

'Then I do homework… sometimes I do it right after lunch. After homework, I watch TV'. (WSE-I1-56,57, 11.40 min: male, German/Turkish)

Appendix D: Free-Sorting Examples

The following pages contain twelve examples of the 66 free-sorting results. The raw data was recorded in form of pictures. Pictures were converted into co-variation tables. The examples below showcase the different ways in which students organized the verbs. The students from which the pictures come are 1, 38, 40, 27, 7, 25 from the Nordstadt Elementary and 41, 42, 47, 70, 71, 73 from the Weststadt Elementary.

Figure D1: Cianna: NSE-1, female, German monolingual, father of 'African' descent

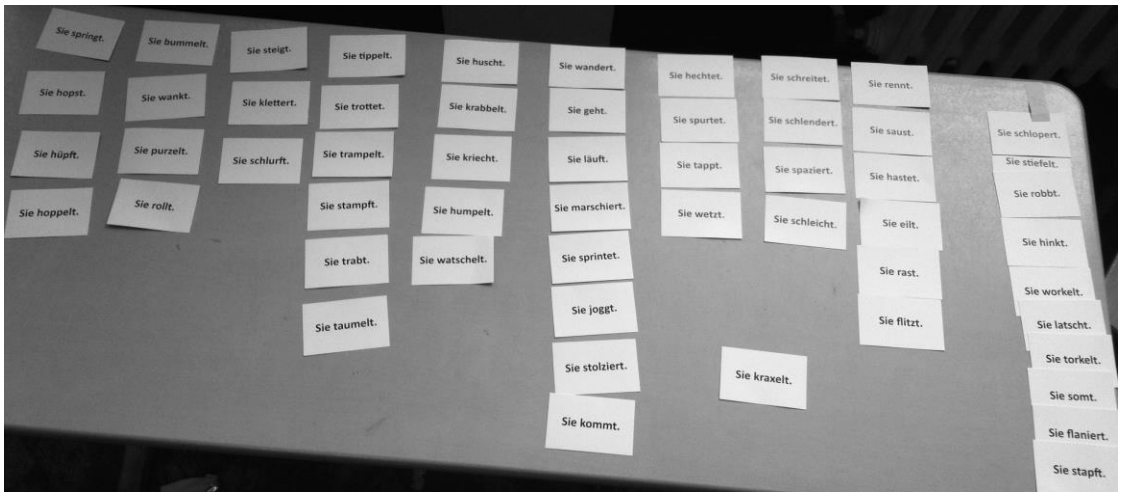


Figure D2: Sara: NSE-38, female, German monolingual, mother of Polish descent

Figure D3: Caren: NSE-40, female, German monolingual, parents of German descent

Figure D4: Michael: NSE-26, male, German monolingual, parents of German descent

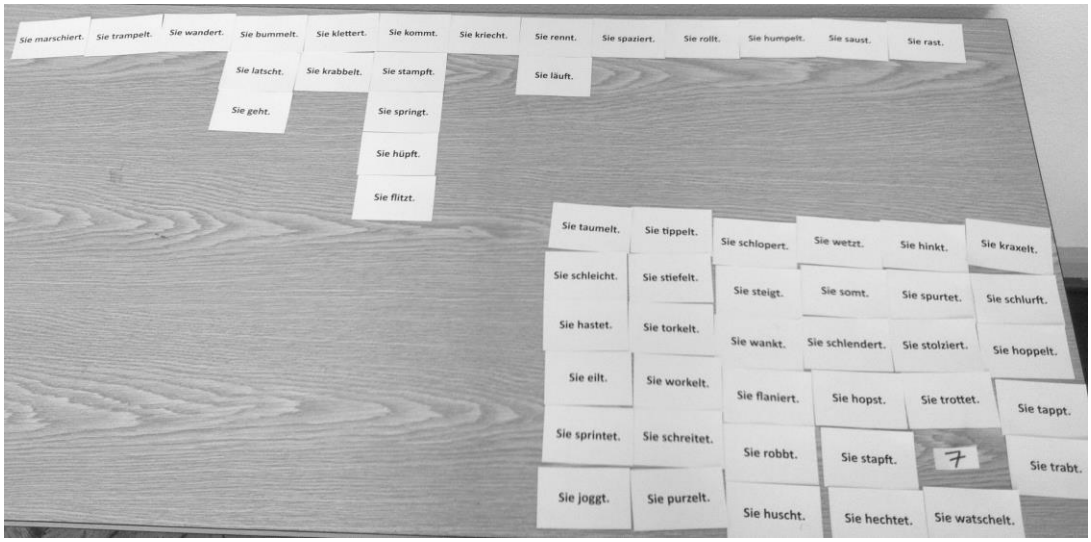


Figure D5: Öznur: NSE-7, female, Turkish-German bilingual, parents generation 1

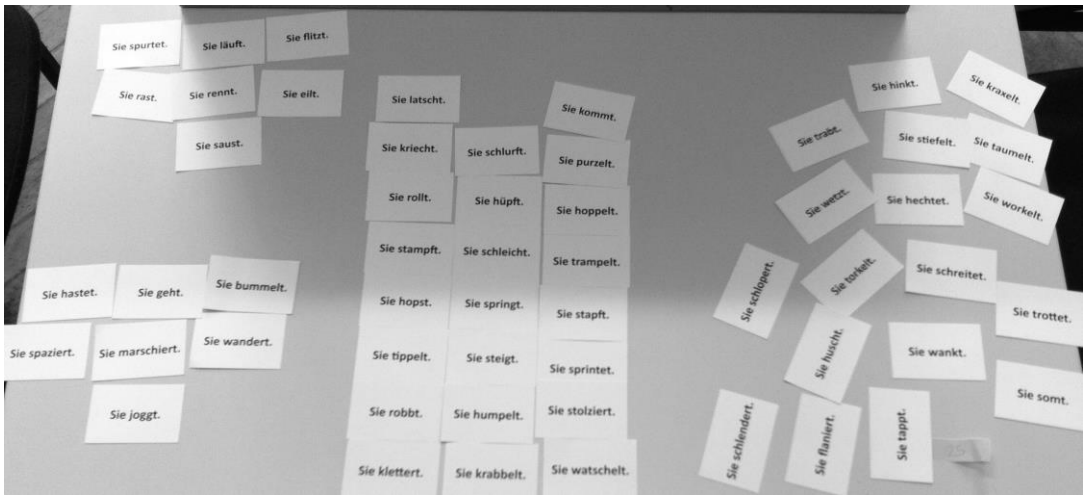


Figure D6: Açelya: NSE-25, female, Turkish-German bilingual, mother generation 1.5

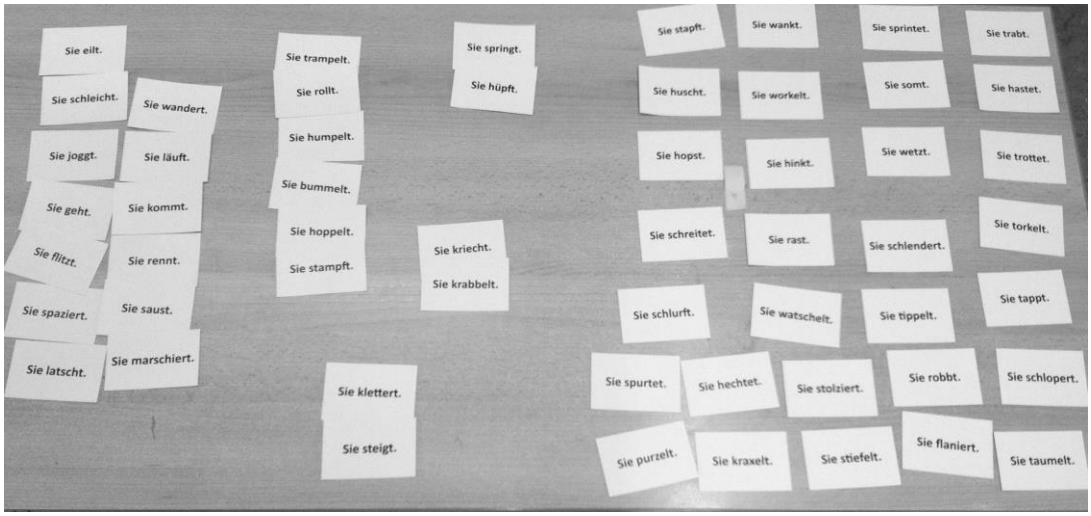


Figure D7: Talia: WSE-41, female, Turkish-German bilingual, parents generation 1

Figure D8: Julia: WSE-42, female, Brazilian Portuguese-Italian-German trilingual, generation 1.5

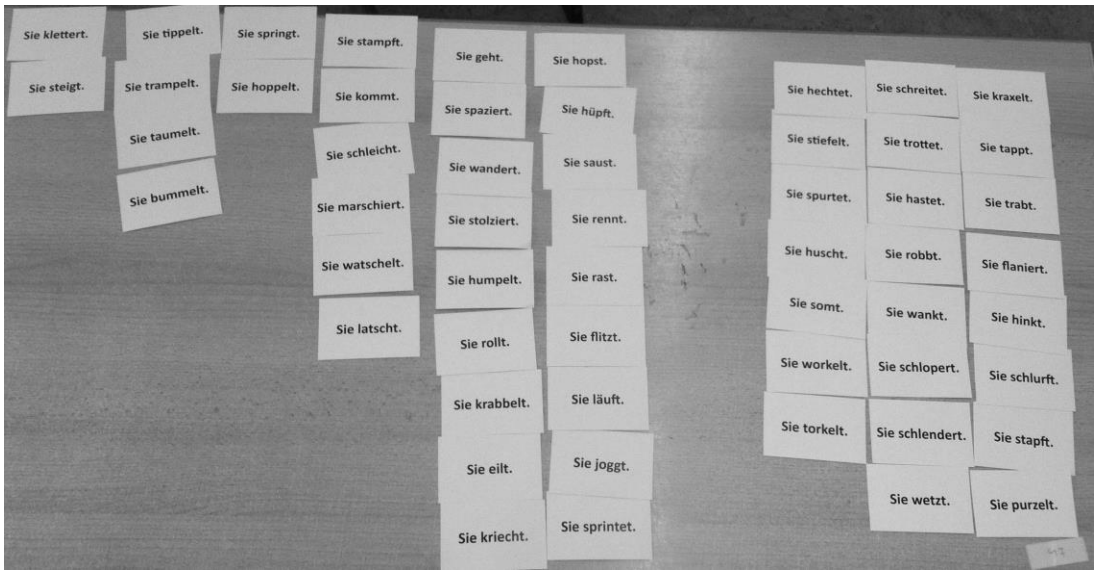


Figure D9: Ali: WSE-47, male, Turkish-German bilingual, parents generation 1

Figure D10: Canalp: WSE-70, male, Turkish-German bilingual, parents generation 2

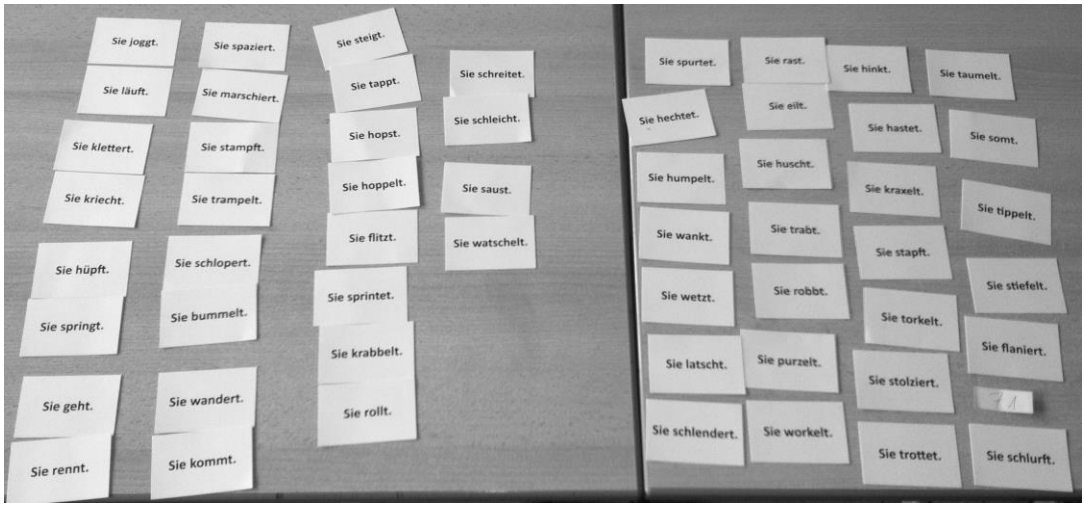


Figure D11: Victor: WSE-71, male, Russian-Ukrainian-German multilingual, parents generation 1

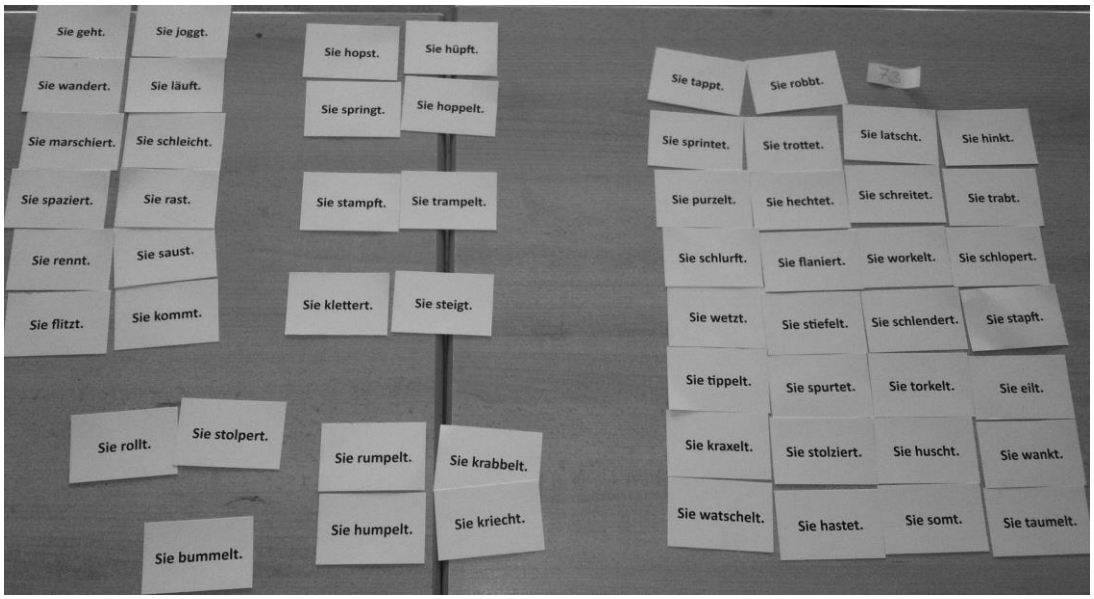


Figure D12: Izabela: WSE-73, female, Polish German bilingual, parents generation 1

Appendix E: Steps in Regression Analysis

Chapters 6 and 7 of this dissertation employ linear and logistic regression modeling to analyze linguistic data. For an introduction to these techniques the reader is referred to Singer & Willet (2003), Hinton (2004), Field et al. (2012), Whitlock & Schluter (2015). Publications tailored towards intermediate and advanced users of multivariate analysis from different disciplinary backgrounds are Hosmer and Lemeshow (2000), Tabachnick & Fidell (2001). This appendix presents the steps in model analysis that were omitted from the main text.

1. Multiple Linear Regression

There were two linear regression models in this dissertation. The first attempted to predict the count of pseudoverbs that students perceived in the field of motion verbs (Chapter 6). The second was concerned with predicting the overall sum of non-standard features (Chapter 7). In both cases the best simple linear regression model included only the predictor 'parents born abroad'. Within the predictor, students with both parents born abroad led in the production of the respective feature.

While the simple regression model over 'sum of features' in Chapter 7 could not be further improved, the model over 'pseudoverbs' in Chapter 6 was improvable in two steps. In a first step, all predictors are added to 'parents born abroad'. All these models stand in a nested relationship to M4, meaning that an ANOVA can test their fit. It turns out that

adding any predictor significantly improves the model. However, the predictors 'district' (M7) or 'speaking Turkish' (M10) achieve the best model fit (see Table E1).

Model No.:	Single predictors:	Adjusted R-Squared:	Model No.:	Added predictors:	Anova over M1:	Adjusted R-Squared:
M1	district	0.077	M7	+district	0.009**	0.182
M2	primary language environment	0.088	M8	+primary language environment	0.032*	0.161
M3	dominant language	0.055	M9	+dominant language	0.025*	0.168
M4	parents born abroad	0.143	M10	+Turkish speaker	0.007**	0.190
M5	Turkish speaker	0.111	M11	+gender	0.059	0.130
M6	gender	-0.015				

Table E1: Linear regression models predicting pseudo-verb count (up to 2 predictors)

Bulding on M7 and on M10, leads to the models presented in Table E2, below. M12, which includes all three predictors without an interaction, trumps all models. Although M14 also is a better fit than M7 and M10, M12 is preferred because is offers a simpler explanation.

Model No.	Added predictors	Improvement over M7	Improvement over M10
M12	+district+Turkish	0.015*	0.013*
M13	+district+dominant language	0.12	0.106
M14	+district*Turkish (no improvement over M12)	0.047*	0.042*
M15	*district	0.367	0.324
M16	*Turkish	0.162	0.143

Table E2: Linear regression models predicting pseudo-verb count (more than 2 predictors)

2. LOGISTIC REGRESSION

Chapter 6 contained a logistic model comparison for predicting the co-occurrence or non-co-occurrence of the verbs *kommen* 'to come' and *schleichen* 'to sneak, crawl' in students free-sorting data. The steps that led to the result that Turkish speakers lead in producing this association of verbs are spelled out below in Table E3. As the table shows there was no better AIC for the univariate logistic models than being a Turkish speaker in M21. Also, no multivariate logistic model could beat M21 in the log likelihood comparison.

Model No.:	Single predictors:	AIC:	Model No.	Added predictors:	Log Likelihood Comparison (to M21) p-value:	t-value:	AIC:
M17	district	73.421					
M18	primary language environment	64.128	M23	+district	0.147	2.118	62.504
M19	dominant language	68.677	M24	+primary language environment	0.094	4.72	61.901
M20	parents born abroad	73.376	M25	+dominant language	0.272	2.600	64.022
M21	Turkish speaker	62.623	M26	+parents born abroad	0.892	0.228	66.394
M22	gender	74.078	M27	gender	0.494	0.468	64.154

Table E3: Logistic regression models predicting ks-pattern (up to two predictors)

3. MIXED MODELS

There also were three mixed model comparisons in the dissertation to see which factors best predicted dative substitution, gender variation and article omission.

3.1 Dative Substitution

For dative substitution, there was no significant improvement over the null model. There only is a trend for the factors 'dominant language' and 'parents born abroad'.

Model No.:	Predictors:	p-value:	AIC:
null model:	1 | speaker (random intercepts)	-	295.23
M34	+district	0.399	296.5
M35	+primary language environment	0.593	298.19
M36	+dominant language	0.057.	293.53
M37	+parents born abroad	0.125	295.08
M38	+Turkish speaker	0.589	296.94
M39	+gender	0.842	297.19

Table E4: Logistic mixed models predicting dative substitution

3.2 Gender Variation

Gender variation is best predicted by models M42 and M44, which are based on the predictors 'primary language environment' and 'parents born abroad'. Adding further predictors does not improve the model, as Table E6 shows.

Model No.:	Predictors:	p-value:	AIC:
null model:	1 | speaker (random intercepts)	-	203.5
M41	+district	0.162	203.5
M42	+primary language environment	0.005**	196.85
M43	+dominant language	0.047*	201.37
M44	+parents born abroad	0.004**	196.42
M45	+Turkish speaker	0.051 .	201.68
M46	+gender	0.842	205.10

Table E5: Logistic mixed models predicting gender variation

Model No.	Added predictors	Improvement over M42	Improvement over M44
M47	+parents born abroad +primary language environment	0.128	0.103

Table E6: Logistic mixed models predicting gender variation (more than 2 predictors)

3.3 Article Omission

The best mixed model predicting article omission includes both the district and speaker's gender as factors. Table E7 contains mixed models M49 and M54 which lead up to the choice of factors for M55. The combination in M55, Table E8, trumps both nested models.

Model No.:	Predictors:	p-value:	AIC:
BASE:	1 | speaker (random intercepts)	-	114.84
M49	+district	0.009**	110.04
M50	+primary language environment	0.454	117.26
M51	+dominant language	0.855	118.52
M52	+parents born abroad	0.2459	116.03
M53	+Turkish speaker	0.934	116.83
M54	+gender	0.012 *	110.51

Table E7: Logistic mixed models predicting article omission

Model No.	Added predictors	Improvement over M49	Improvement over M54
M55	+district +gender	0.033*	0.044 *

Table E8: Logistic mixed models predicting article omission (more than 2 predictors)

Appendix F: Sorted List of Feature Correlations

Table F.1 contains a list of feature correlations that resulted from the analysis in Chapter 7, sorted by R-values. The R-values printed in bold were significantly correlated, conservatively speaking ($p \leq 0.01$). There were no significant negative correlations.

Variable vs. Variable	R	p-value
prep.omission vs. var.preposition	**0.80508**	**0.000*****
aux.omission vs. subj.omission	**0.75092**	**0.000*****
Sum: vs. var.gender	**0.69867**	**0.000*****
Sum: vs. dat.as.acc	**0.63966**	**0.000*****
obj.omission vs. aux.omission	**0.56153**	**0.000*****
als.ob.omission vs. acc.as.dat	**0.542**	**0.000*****
pseudoverbs vs. Sum:	**0.52887**	**0.000*****
pseudoverbs vs. var.gender	**0.50786**	**0.00113****
extra.reflexive vs. var.verb.inflect	**0.49518**	**0.00157****
prep.omission vs. var.gender	**0.49373**	**0.00163****
pseudoverbs vs. var.verb.inflect	**0.46015**	**0.00365****
word.order vs. var.gender	**0.45596**	**0.00402****
Sum: vs. prep.omission	**0.45456**	**0.00414****
Sum: vs. var.verb.inflect	**0.43903**	**0.00582****
prep.omission vs. art.omission	**0.42735**	**0.00745****
Sum: vs. art.omission	0.35757	0.02752
var.preposition vs. var.gender	0.35184	0.03029
art.omission vs. var.gender	0.33435	0.0402
Sum: vs. subj.omission	0.31393	0.05494
var.preposition vs. art.omission	0.3067	0.06109
prep.omission vs. word.order	0.30317	0.06428
extra.reflexive vs. word.order	0.30317	0.06428
Sum: vs. var.preposition	0.29563	0.07154
ks-pattern vs. var.gender	0.29129	0.076
ks-pattern vs. var.verb.inflect	0.28185	0.08647
pseudoverbs vs. dat.as.acc	0.26704	0.10508
Sum: vs. aux.omission	0.26399	0.10926

Table F.1 continues on the next page.

Table F.1 continued

Variable vs. Variable	R	p-value
var.verb.inflect vs. var.gender	0.25907	0.11628
Sum: vs. word.order	0.2444	0.1392
pseudoverbs vs. extra.reflexive	0.23233	0.16042
ks-pattern vs. pseudoverbs	0.23092	0.16306
var.gender vs. dat.as.acc	0.23061	0.16363
var.preposition vs. word.order	0.21758	0.18945
var.verb.inflect vs. dat.as.acc	0.20876	0.20845
Sum: vs. extra.reflexive	0.18705	0.2608
ks-pattern vs. word.order	0.18448	0.26752
ks-pattern vs. Sum:	0.18359	0.26989
subj.omission vs. dat.as.acc	0.18034	0.27861
ks-pattern vs. aux.omission	-0.17496	0.29342
ks-pattern vs. var.preposition	-0.17496	0.29342
obj.omission vs. art.omission	0.17222	0.30117
aux.omission vs. var.gender	-0.17101	0.30464
pseudoverbs vs. art.omission	0.16267	0.32916
pseudoverbs vs. prep.omission	0.1617	0.33209
word.order vs. acc.as.dat	-0.1519	0.36261
als.ob.omission vs. dat.as.acc	-0.14792	0.37549
ks-pattern vs. prep.omission	-0.14086	0.39894
word.order vs. dat.as.acc	-0.13615	0.41504
subj.omission vs. art.omission	-0.13578	0.41633
pseudoverbs vs. var.preposition	0.13506	0.41883
var.preposition vs. acc.as.dat	-0.12966	0.43784
aux.omission vs. acc.as.dat	-0.12966	0.43784
aux.omission vs. dat.as.acc	0.12913	0.43974
ks-pattern vs. extra.reflexive	0.12677	0.44818
pseudoverbs vs. obj.omission	0.1251	0.45424
subj.omission vs. var.gender	-0.12104	0.46912
extra.reflexive vs. acc.as.dat	0.11598	0.48805
extra.reflexive vs. art.omission	-0.11396	0.49571
prep.omission vs. var.verb.inflect	0.11116	0.50642
prep.omission vs. acc.as.dat	-0.10438	0.53284
ks-pattern vs. subj.omission	-0.10405	0.53415
acc.as.dat vs. dat.as.acc	-0.10157	0.54401

Table F.1 continues on the next page.

Table F.1 continued

Variable vs. Variable	R	p-value
aux.omission vs. word.order	-0.10042	0.54859
ks-pattern vs. obj.omission	-0.09825	0.55732
ks-pattern vs. als.ob.omission	-0.09825	0.55732
word.order vs. art.omission	0.09674	0.56342
var.verb.inflect vs. subj.omission	-0.09632	0.5651
word.order vs. subj.omission	-0.09632	0.5651
obj.omission vs. var.gender	-0.09603	0.56631
als.ob.omission vs. var.gender	-0.09603	0.56631
var.verb.inflect vs. acc.as.dat	0.08861	0.5968
aux.omission vs. var.preposition	-0.08571	0.60888
var.preposition vs. subj.omission	-0.08222	0.62362
Sum: vs. acc.as.dat	0.0802	0.63219
als.ob.omission vs. art.omission	-0.07949	0.63524
Sum: vs. obj.omission	0.07716	0.64521
ks-pattern vs. art.omission	0.07705	0.64566
pseudoverbs vs. aux.omission	0.07657	0.64773
obj.omission vs. acc.as.dat	-0.07281	0.664
obj.omission vs. dat.as.acc	0.07251	0.6653
acc.as.dat vs. subj.omission	-0.07186	0.66813
ks-pattern vs. acc.as.dat	0.07058	0.67372
acc.as.dat vs. var.gender	-0.07037	0.67463
extra.reflexive vs. aux.omission	-0.06901	0.68058
prep.omission vs. aux.omission	-0.06901	0.68058
extra.reflexive vs. var.preposition	-0.06901	0.68058
pseudoverbs vs. word.order	0.0683	0.6837
var.preposition vs. dat.as.acc	-0.06715	0.68876
extra.reflexive vs. subj.omission	-0.06619	0.69296
prep.omission vs. subj.omission	-0.06619	0.69296
ks-pattern vs. dat.as.acc	0.06326	0.70595
var.preposition vs. var.verb.inflect	0.05858	0.72684
art.omission vs. dat.as.acc	-0.05686	0.73453
als.ob.omission vs. var.verb.inflect	-0.05639	0.73668
obj.omission vs. var.verb.inflect	-0.05639	0.73668
als.ob.omission vs. word.order	-0.05639	0.73668
obj.omission vs. word.order	-0.05639	0.73668

Table F.1 continues on the next page.

Table F.1 continued

Variable vs. Variable	R	p-value
prep.omission vs. extra.reflexive	-0.05556	0.74043
pseudoverbs vs. acc.as.dat	0.04947	0.76802
obj.omission vs. var.preposition	-0.04813	0.77415
als.ob.omission vs. var.preposition	-0.04813	0.77415
als.ob.omission vs. aux.omission	-0.04813	0.77415
obj.omission vs. subj.omission	-0.04617	0.78313
als.ob.omission vs. subj.omission	-0.04617	0.78313
als.ob.omission vs. prep.omission	-0.03875	0.81734
obj.omission vs. prep.omission	-0.03875	0.81734
obj.omission vs. extra.reflexive	-0.03875	0.81734
pseudoverbs vs. subj.omission	-0.03455	0.83686
var.verb.inflect vs. art.omission	0.03109	0.85298
Sum: vs. als.ob.omission	-0.02946	0.86063
als.ob.omission vs. obj.omission	-0.02703	0.87204
prep.omission vs. dat.as.acc	0.02495	0.8818
extra.reflexive vs. dat.as.acc	0.02495	0.8818
word.order vs. var.verb.inflect	0.02206	0.89542
acc.as.dat vs. art.omission	0.0119	0.94349
aux.omission vs. art.omission	0.00786	0.96263
pseudoverbs vs. als.ob.omission	0.00194	0.99076

Table F.1: List of feature correlations by Pearson R values.

Glossary

The following pages contain all abbreviations, acronyms and specific terminology used in this dissertation. Uncommon abbreviations are introduced in the text but summarized here for convenience, as well.

INTERLINEAR GLOSSING

The Leipzig Glossing Rules (Comrie et al. 2004) provided the basis of all interlinear glosses. Slight modifications were made to better match German, in particular, and many abbreviations were not needed. The relevant abbreviations are listed below.

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ABL	ablative
ACC	accusative
ADJ	adjective
ADV	adverb(ial)
AGR	agreement
ART	article
AUX	auxiliary
COP	copula
DAT	dative
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative
DET	determiner
EMPH	emphatic marker

f	feminine
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
HON	honorific
IMP	imperative
IND	indicative
INDF	indefinite
INF	infinitive
LOC	locative
m	masculine
n	neuter
NEG	negation, negative
NOM	nominative
OBJ	object
OBL	oblique
PASS	passive
PART	particle
p	plural
POSS	possessive
PRS	present
PROG	progressive
PST	past
PTCP	participle
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative
SBJ	subject
s	singular

DEFINITIONS OF TERMS

The following terms are used with a specific meaning or interchangeably.

bilingual	speaking one heritage language and the majority language (German). Proficiency levels may differ.
generation 1 (G1)	adult and adolescent immigrants
generation 1.5 (G1.5)	those who are children at the time of immigration
generation 2 (G2)	descendant of immigrants; born in the target country
generation 3 (G3)	descendant of generation 2 (G2)
German resettler	descendant of German expatriate settlers in Eastern Europe and Central Asia that immigrated to Germany in the 1980s and 1990s
immigrant/migrant family	family that includes two generations, at least one of which has immigrated to the target country
immigrant, migrant	anyone who migrated from country A to country B in his or her lifetime
multilingual	speaking more than one language that was acquired in an environment outside of school (proficiency levels may differ)
of X descent	born in Germany from parents that immigrated from culture or region of origin X
heritage language	language spoken in the family at the time of immigration (afterwards retained as a heritage language)
bilingual	speaking one heritage language and the majority language (German). Proficiency levels may differ.
trilingual	speaking two heritage languages and the majority language (German). Proficiency levels may differ.
with (im)migrant background, of (im)migrant descent	having immigrant parents (generation 1 or 1.5) or grandparents, but being born in the target country
X-German	member of the X (speaking) community in Germany (language and culture are not being treated separately)

NAME AND TEXT ABBREVIATIONS

br-cluster, br-pattern	co-occurrence of the verbs *bummeln* ‘to saunter’ and *rollen* ‘to roll’
BS	Braunschweig
cf.	*conferre* ‘compare to/with’
D & A	Dirim & Auer
G1/1.5/2/3	generation 1/1.5/2/3
HAC	hierarchical agglomerative clustering
ibid	*ibidem* ‘in the same place’
i.e.	*it est* ‘that is’
IGS	*Integrierte Gesamtschule*: a school type that integrates all traditional German academic tracks
ks-cluster, ks-pattern	co-occurrence of the verbs *kommen* ‘to come’ *and schleichen* ‘to sneak’
LD	Lehndorf (district of Braunschweig, Germany)
M	model
MLE	multiethnic London English
min	minutes
NS	Nordstadt (district of Braunschweig, Germany)
NSE	Nordstadt Elementary School
PE-classes	physical education classes
PS-NS	preschool in the Nordstadt
PS-WS	preschool in the Weststadt
sec	seconds
STG	Stylized Turkish German
WS	Weststadt (district of Braunschweig, Germany)
WSE	Weststadt Elementary School
WS-IGS	Inclusive Secondary School in the Weststadt
WWII	World War II

DATA ABBREVIATIONS

Different data sources were used in this dissertation. Each has its own abbreviation.

FB	feedback sessions based on motion event video-clips (video-recorded in 2013)
FN	field notes (participant observation, ethnographic journal)
VR	video-retelling task (video-recorded in 2012)
I1	background questionnaire interviews (video-recorded in 2012)
I2	semi-structured 'emotional' group interviews (video-recorded in 2012)
I3	semi-structured interview with social key figures (audio- & video-recorded in 2013)
I4	interviews conducted with and by my informants (audio-recorded in 2013)
I5	interviews with teachers at various schools (audio- & video-recorded in 2013)

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